

CURRENT HISTORY

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AMERICA'S MIGHTIEST SUPERDREADNOUGHT



Pacific & Atlantic

The scene when the national flag was raised on the U. S. S. Colorado on being commissioned, Aug. 30, 1923. This great battleship has a displacement of 32,600 tons, is 624 feet long and 97 feet broad, and can steam 21 knots an hour. The main battery consists of eight 16-inch guns set in four turrets and throwing projectiles weighing 2,100 pounds. The Colorado is the last battleship that the United States may build under the Washington Disarmament Treaty

OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER, ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS

By ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY
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*American moral and social standards of today a development of the West
—Our worst faults: materialism, lawlessness, superficial thinking and
self-assertion—Important changes required in education and business*

ALL through the nineteenth century the habitual attitude of American writers toward American character was one of admiration. Some, like Cooper or Clemens, admired it wholeheartedly; others, like Emerson or Whitman, admired it with reservations; but even in this latter group the general tone was one of complacent optimism. We were taught to regard our fellow-countrymen as fundamentally sound in intellect and in morals, and to consider their faults as either crudities of youth or defects inseparable from their virtues. Foreign critics who really took the trouble to study it, like de Tocqueville or Bryce, shared and confirmed this optimism. Even when they criticised our Government they believed in our people, and felt assured that American character would prove adequate for dealing with America's problems. Small wonder that we as a nation were content to accept a judgment so flattering to ourselves.

But the last twenty-five years have witnessed a marked change. We have become more critical of ourselves and our doings. We are beginning to see that if our Government is defective it must be in some measure our own fault, and that our nation has grown too old to plead youth as an excuse for its shortcomings. This change of feeling has been reflected in our current literature. Few of our present-day writers, whether critics, novelists or dramatists, assume that our intellectual and moral standards are anywhere near as high as they should be, or as superior to those of other nations as

we once thought. A great many of them, perhaps the majority, have gone much further than this, and have adopted an attitude which, if not exactly one of pessimism as to America, is certainly one of rather indiscriminate criticism of things American.

It is a good thing to have some of this self-criticism. It means that we are growing to maturity as a nation; that we have learned enough of other peoples and their standards to compare them with our own and try to decide which is best, instead of undertaking to measure everything by our own yardstick. But in order to be of any real value such criticism must be discriminating. It must show where we actually fall short of other nations, or of our own fathers, in our present-day ideals and performances. It must help us to distinguish the faults which we can and ought to avoid if we are to hold our place in the world, from those which are common to all races, or those which are the almost necessary accompaniment of some good quality which our own race has developed. A general bill of complaint which mixes up all three kinds of faults is of little help to anybody. Indiscriminate self-blame is as useless and demoralizing as indiscriminate self-praise.

It requires unusual care to weigh the defects of our own people in this fashion. Our judgment is warped by the same causes which make it hard for us to give a true estimate of our own character or that of our near relatives. A nation, like a family, has a certain set of standards of its own. It emphasizes some virtues and powers; it

ignores others. It calls the man good who does the things the nation or family demands; it calls the man bad who fails to do them. But other nations or other families use a different basis of judgment, and in the long run probably a much truer one. For they can judge, not only whether a man conforms to the standards which have been set him, but whether those standards themselves have proved good or bad in the light of human experience. Many a boy who is regarded as the scapegrace of the household because of his disobedience to authority, and has even come to regard himself in that light, is looked upon with sympathy by people who see how irrational are some of the orders which he disobeys, and who regard his rebellion as having in it more of promise for the community than the smug self-complacency of his brothers. Many a man who has grown up in a family which is religious but self-seeking thinks that his chief fault is a failure to love God as well as his parents did, when the neighbors see that the overshadowing fault, common to him and his parents alike, is that the family has been too blind to love its fellow-man.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

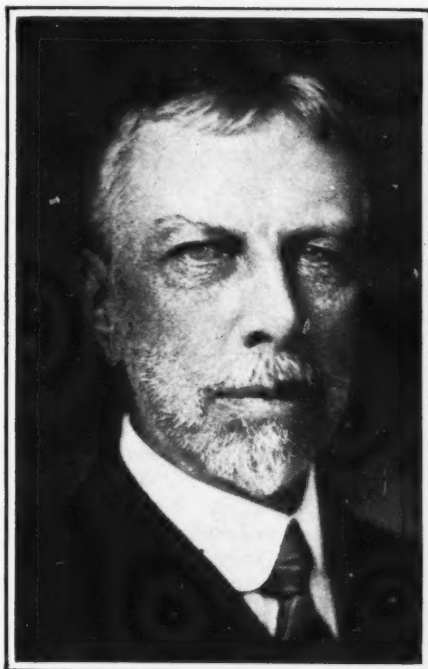
In order to get this outside point of view of our faults as a nation, we have to study the history of our national character; to understand the peculiar circumstances under which it developed; to see how far these circumstances helped us, and how far they handicapped us; or, to put it in other words, how far they have qualified or disqualified us to take a place of leadership, political, intellectual and moral, in the work of the world as a whole.

Speaking broadly, we may say that the American national character was developed in the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Missouri River in the years from 1820 to 1850. Before that time we had had no national character in the proper sense of the word, but several different forms of Colonial character. Long after we had achieved our independence by the Revolutionary War, and for a considerable time after we had given ourselves a national Government by adopting the Constitution of the United States, we remained without that binding tie which is

of more importance than any political document—a common set of social standards and ideals of living.

During the first generation after the adoption of our Constitution—from 1790 to 1820, or thereabout—we had two sets of such standards. The States along the Atlantic seaboard were gradually consolidating their many forms of Colonial character into two pretty well defined groups, a Southern and a Northern, each with its own traditions and ideals. The Southern character, as it had developed at the end of the eighteenth century, was in general a reproduction of the English character of the same date, as represented by the country gentlemen or "Squirearchy." The aristocracy of the Southern planters, in its habits, its assumptions and its interests, was singularly like the aristocracy of the English county families. For the Northern type of character it is harder to find an exact counterpart in Europe. The nearest approach to it was probably to be seen in some of the English commercial towns; but it contained reminders both of Scotland and of Holland, which showed the strong influence exercised by immigrants from these two countries.

Amid many external differences both of these types had one thing in common which distinguished them sharply from the American character of today. In 1800 both South and North were essentially aristocratic in their ideas and assumptions. In spite of the provisions of the Declaration of Independence, political equality had been very imperfectly attained, and social equality had not been attained at all. In our whole system of social ethics, North or South, class distinctions were taken as a matter of course. The professional and commercial aristocracy of the North was more numerous and less wealthy than that of the South, and its social system was probably less rigid. Inheritance counted for less in determining a man's position in society, and personal character or ability for more. But neither Northerners nor Southerners expected the actions and duties of people of different ranks in society to be judged by the same standard. Democracy in the American seaboard States of 1800 was a name for a particular form of government—nothing more.



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It was west of the Alleghany Mountains, in the second generation of American citizens, that democracy really started in its modern sense as a system of social standards and had its normal effects on human character and conduct. Here, probably for the first time in history, large commonwealths were organized and complex business was built up by a body of workers who were equal before the law and approximately equal in social opportunities.

NEW SOCIAL STANDARDS

The moral standards of these new commonwealths were partly determined by the class of settlers which they attracted and partly by the economic conditions under which they were developed. The men who "went West" in the first half of the nineteenth century were almost necessarily adventurers, in the older and better sense of the word. Whether they had come from the Northern or Southern colonies, or were recent immigrants from overseas, they were picked men in this respect, that they were attracted by a sporting proposition. They

were not content to be fitted for the station in life to which they were called; they were anxious to make a better station in life for themselves and their families, and were ready to face hardships and dangers for the sake of that possibility. The West was a place for men who were by temperament venturesome and ambitious; who loved liberty, and were ready to devote themselves to the upbuilding of a country where they could find it.

The economic conditions by which the settlers were surrounded tended to develop another set of qualities. First among these should be placed self-reliance. Living in isolated communities, or perhaps in locations of their own at a distance from any organized community, they became independent of their neighbors to a degree which is hardly paralleled in any other country. They had to learn to do all kinds of things for themselves, instead of concentrating upon any one thing; to govern themselves and their families, without much aid from church or school; to protect their lives and their property against transgressors, without much aid from Sheriffs or police.

Another quality which the economic conditions of the community developed among the settlers was an eagerness for immediate and tangible results. Where capital was scarce, it became important, alike for the individual and for the community, to get stocks of wealth which could be used as capital just as soon as possible. The desire to make money, which is strong in every nation, became overwhelmingly strong when the man who made money won approval as a public benefactor, and was generally rewarded with social or political leadership.

Out of this compound of natural and acquired traits—of love of liberty and the country that gave it, of sporting blood and enforced self-reliance, of large ambition and impatience for tangible results—grew that Western character which furnished the groundwork of our American character, and has been more important than constitutions or forms of government in making the American nation what it is. For the social and political ethics of the Middle West proved strong enough to dominate the thinking and shape the ideals and ac-

tions of the country as a whole. The constitutional and political history of the United States from 1820 to 1870 is a record of the displacement of older aristocratic ideas or institutions which we had inherited in the East by newer ideals of democracy which we had developed in the West; and our constitutional changes have simply reflected a change which was going on in the minds of the people. Outside of the sphere of influence of a few seaboard cities—some of which have retained old Colonial traditions, while others have become cosmopolitan rather than American—our character and our ethics trace their descent from the Western settlers of the days of Andrew Jackson.

The American character, as thus developed, was admirably adapted to meet the conditions which first confronted it. By its means a wilderness was converted into a productive and prosperous land with unexampled speed; growth of public order went hand in hand with the growth of public wealth; national ideals were developed which held the American people together in perilous crises. Foreign observers might laugh at its boastfulness or complain of its bad manners; but those who looked below the surface, like de Tocqueville, saw that underneath the boastfulness lay a real patriotism and underneath the unconventional manners lay a general spirit of helpfulness and true courtesy to those who were weak or in trouble. As we look back at the history of the nineteenth century we can see that those who accused the Western man of lawless pursuit of material ideals were fundamentally wrong and that those who believed in him were fundamentally right.

PIONEER QUALITIES NO LONGER REQUIRED

But the conditions of life in America in the twentieth century are very different from those of the early nineteenth; and traits of character which were useful in an earlier stage of society may sometimes prove troublesome or even dangerous in a later one. When a country lacks the capital which modern civilization requires, pursuit of wealth lays the foundation for national progress; when adequate capital has once been obtained, the pursuit of wealth may stand in the way of the attainment of other things which have become

more essential. When a country is sparsely settled, love of liberty is easily gratified, and self-reliance is a necessity; when population has grown denser, the exercise of one man's liberty often means an encroachment on the liberty of some one else, and self-reliance may tend to degenerate into self-assertion. All careful students of our history recognize these dangers; some see them so clearly as to lose sight of almost everything else and assume a pessimistic attitude regarding the future of American democracy which the facts hardly warrant.

The three faults most commonly charged against our national character today are materialism, lawlessness and unwarranted self-assertion. These three sets of charges are made with about equal frequency. When we come to examine the evidence by which they are supported we shall find that they stand upon very different bases. Those who accuse us of materialism charge us with a fault that is common to the human race. They fail to prove that it is distinctively American, or that we are worse than our neighbors in this respect. Those who accuse us of lawlessness can show that many of the things of which they complain are distinctively American, and that our record is not so good as we and our neighbors have a right to demand. I think we shall find that these facts point to defects in our machinery of government rather than in our national character. But those who make the charge of unwarranted self-assertion seem to me to be able to prove their allegation, and to be rendering our nation a real service in calling timely attention to a distinctive fault in American character which, if allowed to develop unchecked may prove as disastrous to us as a somewhat different manifestation of the same fault has already proved to Germany.

Let us first take up the charge of materialism. This accusation means, if it means anything, that a nation is so occupied with the pursuit of physical possibilities of enjoyment that its members are not attracted by intellectual pleasures or swayed by moral ideals. The writers of Continental Europe have quite generally said that this was true of the United States; and the conduct of Americans who went to Europe, whether as tourists or as exiles, often lent

a genuine surprise to Europe, and particularly to Germany, when the great body of the American people in 1917 dropped all thoughts of comfort when national honor was at stake and voluntarily accepted principles of universal service in matters of fighting and universal self-denial in matters of food. The history of the years 1917 and 1918 is in fact a refutation of the charge of materialism as it has been commonly made. Nor was the experience of these two years an isolated one. Half a century earlier the American Nation had abandoned the pursuit of material wealth to engage in a war which was as purely idealistic in its underlying motives as any in the history of the world—a war between the adherents of the liberty of the several States on the one hand, and the devotees of an ideal of national sovereignty on the other. Physically speaking, neither side had anything to gain by fighting which was at all proportionate to the risk of loss. The Civil War showed that the American Nation, South and North alike, cared more for its social ideals than it did for its physical comforts.

"THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR"

I had heard so much adverse comment on "the almighty dollar" during my childhood in New England, that I was much surprised and a little shocked, during my first visit to Europe, by finding that the mark and the franc, and even the shilling, seemed so much more powerful, in their respective domains, than the dollar ever thought of being in the United States. A mark given to a German railway guard, usually a uniformed public servant, would secure a seat by the car window and as much privacy in your compartment as was possible; while those who did not pay the money were crowded into less desirable places. Of course this sort of thing occasionally happened on our own side of the Atlantic. A customs officer at one of our Atlantic ports might be quite ready to relax the formalities of inspection for a man who gave him a ten-dollar bill, or the reasonable certainty of getting one. But there was this difference: we saw the character of such transactions in its true light. Most of us did not bribe customs officers, and the majority of those who did were rather

ashamed of themselves. We regarded the prevalence of the practice as a disgrace to the Treasury Department and ultimately got clear of it; whereas, Europe often seemed to have accepted the principle of fees for preferential treatment as a matter of course.

It is true that the pursuit of the dollar in American business is conducted with more spectacular intensity than it is in most parts of Europe. But the pursuit of the dollar does not necessarily mean devotion to material comfort. The dollar is a symbol. It gives its possessor the power to buy luxuries, or to increase his own invested capital, or to promote his political and social ambitions, or to equip his children better for life, or to advance the cause of civilization. To pursue wealth for the sake of the luxuries which it will buy means materialism. But as we go up in the scale of uses the materialistic motive is gradually crowded out and intellectual and moral purposes become dominant. Now only a very small part of the wealth amassed by Americans is intended to be spent for luxuries. The fraction has undoubtedly grown larger since the war; but even today the increase of luxury is more noticeable among our unassimilated foreign elements of every class in society than among those who have come under the influence of our national ideals.

As for the typical American who pursues the dollar, I suspect that he is seeking it chiefly as a symbol of success in a great national game rather than for the sake of what he is going to get when he spends it. One thing that foreigners have always noticed in Americans is the enormous eagerness and seriousness with which they devote themselves to the winning of any game. Probably it is the result of our origin as a nation of adventurers; whatever the cause, this sporting spirit is a dominant trait. Of our four great national games—business, politics, baseball, and poker—the first is the most widely played and can become the most spectacular; and with our national temperament we get more excited over it than the French or the English do, and are in danger of forgetting that there are things in life more important than the winning of any game, however exciting. But this sort of thing

is not materialism or anything like it; it is a crude and narrow but very intense kind of idealism.

IDEALS WITHOUT CULTURE

I think that the claim of Europe to superiority in these matters and the undue readiness with which America has been disposed to allow that claim have been due to the fact that on both sides of the Atlantic we have confused idealism with culture and treated the presence or absence of culture as evidence of the existence or non-existence of idealism. Europe is, undoubtedly, much more cultivated than the United States, and has learned to avoid many of our crudenesses of thought and action. She can show a hundred great monuments of art or letters where we can scarcely produce one. But culture does not necessarily mean idealism. It may or it may not. A very cultivated age may be chiefly occupied with getting enjoyment out of the physical side of life. The best age of Greek culture—that of Pericles—was idealistic; the best age of Roman culture—that of Augustus—was materialistic to the last degree. The culture represented by the Gothic cathedrals was accompanied by spiritual idealism; the culture represented by the golden age of Italian art was attended by materialism of the grossest kind. Much as I deplore the scarcity in America of some things which make life in Europe best worth living, I believe that in the underlying spirit of idealism our people are better off than those of Europe, and that our best chance of getting the culture which we lack lies in turning the idealism which we have into new and wider channels, rather than misconstruing or underrating it.

The charge of lawlessness cannot be so easily set aside. For the supremacy of law is not maintained throughout the United States to the extent to which several other countries have succeeded in maintaining it. We suffer from two somewhat different kinds of lawbreaking. The first is the resort to lynch law. Terrified by crimes against persons or property, or excited by appeals to prejudice, men refuse to wait for the slow processes of justice and decide to take the law into their own

hands; in other words, to set aside the provisions of our Constitution which guarantee every man a fair trial and prohibit cruel or inhuman punishments. Whether the victim be guilty or not, and whether the penalty be such as the law would inflict or such as no enlightened jurist would tolerate, there can be no question of the lawlessness of the whole procedure.

The second class of cases is of a very different character, but tends to the same disregard of law. In times of public excitement it is not hard for an organized minority to shape the course of legislation. It may be strong enough to control the councils of the dominant party as did the pro-slavery Democrats before the war, or the "radical" Republicans after it; or it may be so organized as to hold the balance of power between two parties and secure compliance with its behests from the party leaders as the price of its support, as has been done by the extreme prohibitionists in recent years. The fact that these minorities are so sincere in their belief in the rightness of their respective causes, makes them advocate radical measures; and as a result, we have had laws like the Fugitive Slave act, or the Reconstruction acts, or the Volstead act.

In the course of a few years, a measure passed in this way must either get the public opinion of the country pretty solidly behind it, or become a dead letter. But the years that elapse before we know which of these things is going to happen are necessarily a period of lawlessness; partly because the strength of the police is being diverted from the support of public safety and public order in general, for the sake of punishing one class of statutory offenses, and partly because the countenance given by large sections of the public to the men who commit these offenses diminishes the respect for Government authority.

CAUSES OF LAWLESSNESS

With these two sets of facts before us, it is impossible to deny that the American Commonwealth is in considerable measure open to the charge of lawlessness. But there are other facts in the case which indicate that this lawlessness is not so much chargeable to our national character as to our system of government;

that it is not so much a fault of the people themselves as a defect in their constitutional and administrative machinery.

When we sent our troops to Europe in 1918, their discipline was a surprise both to our allies and to our enemies. And this discipline was not primarily due to the skill of those in command, but to the character of the men in the ranks and to their habits of self-government. Creditable as was the record of most of our company officers, the chief praise must go to the "buck private." Now, habits of this kind are not acquired in a few months. The foundation had been laid at home. The same spirit of order and readiness to conform to rules adopted in the public interest, which was manifested by the rank and file of our divisions in Europe, is seen in our public school children in almost every community where the educational system is at all well managed. The capacity of the American school for discipline and for self-government is as conspicuous as was the capacity of the American Army.

But if the people as a whole are disposed to be orderly, where does the lawlessness come from? I think its two sources have been already indicated: too little provision for public security on the one hand, and too much ill-considered legislation on the other. Each of these things is a defect to which democratic governments are peculiarly liable. The fact that democracies love freedom makes them jealous of the police and unwilling to give them power enough; the fact that they elect the members of their legislative bodies, leads them to trust their Congresses or Parliament, and encourage them to legislate too much. But any self-governing people loves order and fairness quite as much as it loves freedom. If the police fail to keep order, the people themselves are tempted to punish the offenders; if the legislature makes laws which seem unfair, the people are tempted to evade or ignore them.

So long as our Government remains what it is today, this sort of spirit is probably necessary, in order to prevent our social system from lapsing into anarchy at some points, or degenerating into tyranny at others. When the people, as a body, are of an orderly and law-abiding

disposition, and the methods of government are defective, it is often more important to focus public opinion on these defects and correct them than to try to persuade the nation to accept laws which do not have public opinion behind them. We are told that the best way to get rid of a bad law is to enforce it; but this is not generally true. It is always an expensive way; it is usually an ineffective way. This maxim is often used as a means to perpetuate mistakes and wrongs, under the pretense that those who oppose them are in alliance with the lawless element in the community. It is difficult to discuss these principles dispassionately at the present day, because everybody thinks of their bearing on prohibition in its various aspects, but if we look back fifty years to the condition of the South after the Civil War and study the history of the Fifteenth Amendment instead of the Eighteenth, we shall recognize that there are times when nullification, rather than enforced obedience, may be the safer and more practical remedy for laws unwisely conceived or prematurely adopted. Great as are the evils of disobedience to law, there have been occasions in the history of every great Commonwealth when what appeared on its face to be lawlessness was the manifestation, in more or less irregular fashion, of that spirit of self-government which is necessary to prevent legislation from degenerating into tyranny.

OUR WORST NATIONAL FAULTS

The really distinctive faults which can be charged against the American people are not due to materialism or to lawlessness, but to the habit of unwarranted self-assertion. If we had to condense this charge into a single word we might use the term "bumptiousness." But it is better to employ two words, because the evil is essentially two-sided. It results from a combination of two sets of faults; faults of superficial thinking or judgment on the one hand and faults of self-advertising and boastfulness on the other.

In this respect we have fallen from the standard set by our fathers. The pioneer of the West was oftentimes narrow in his thinking and unduly insistent on quick returns for his work, but he was hardly ever superficial. He was habitually self-reliant,

but he was not generally self-assertive. The typical frontiersman was not the loud-voiced braggart which he was sometimes pictured as being; on the contrary, he was as a rule self-contained and courteous. He had dealt too much with the forces of nature to overestimate the value of mere talk. His courage was that of deeds and not of words.

From what causes and by what steps did this self-reliance of our fathers degenerate into self-assertion among their children? The mere filling up of the country by a larger population had something to do with it. When households were scattered along the frontier each had to fight for itself and work for itself. When the country became more fully settled, each had to act with others, both in the fight for social order and in the work to provide the country with appliances of civilization. Politics and business both took a form where the leader was the man who could get control of other people's votes or money rather than the man who could fight or work best for himself. And this gave the talker his opportunity. The fact that most of our American communities had grown up without libraries or theatres seems to have made them overvalue oratory. Listening to speeches was their chief intellectual diversion. The second generation of our Western boys lived in an atmosphere which led them to idolize leaders like Clay or Benton or Douglas or Lincoln; to measure a man's power less by his acts than their fathers did, and more by his words. Ability to appeal to the emotions of those about him became the politician's greatest asset.

What happened in politics happened also in business, in a fashion which was less obvious to the public eye, but was even more far reaching in its effects on our national ideals and character. In the old days when men worked for their own communities, at prices generally fixed by custom, success depended upon industry and craftsmanship. As they sought wider and wider markets the power to sell goods at a profit became the measure of success; salesmanship took the place of craftsmanship, and the man who could advertise his wares best was more admired than the man who worked hardest to produce good ones. As

our business men learned to borrow more capital, to control more laborers, or to depend more on public authorities for help, persuasiveness became an almost fatally important element in business success.

The thing that made it almost fatal, was that it is so much easier to persuade masses of people by an appeal to their feelings than by getting them to think things out. It is much pleasanter to indulge our fancy under the influence of a speaker who knows how to flatter us than it is to think things out for ourselves. Organized emotion tends to take the place of brains.

Our schools ought to have put us on our guard against this danger. But, unfortunately, the school boards and school teachers themselves have in recent years been sometimes more occupied with imparting the show of knowledge than with training the habit of thought. A few years ago I received a letter from a school Superintendent urging that our colleges should accept physics instead of algebra as a qualification for admission, because, as he said, it was so easy to get competent teachers of physics but so hard to find any one who understood algebra! When science is taught in this spirit the pupil is taught to overvalue the show which he gets so easily, and undervalue both the underlying substance and the expert who will go through the hard work necessary for mastering it.

Under a combination of all these influences, we tend to overvalue the show of things. Instances of this are so numerous that I shall not try to give them; each reader can furnish them for himself. They can be found in every field, political, industrial or educational. Nor have I space to set forth the dangers to which it exposes us, in our dealings with other nations or in the handling of our own industrial problems. I shall simply mention one or two suggestions as to the way in which we can best try to correct faults of character which have become so deep rooted.

MUCH-NEEDED CHANGES

First, in the schools: Let us recognize that the *knowledge* of the facts of history or science which the pupil gets is of very little importance as compared with the *power* of getting at additional facts for himself as he wants them and the *habit* of getting them right. And let us train

him in these habits and powers by teaching him subjects where he will have to do most of the work himself instead of expecting his teacher to do it for him. He may not know so many things when he leaves school, but he will be a much more useful citizen. Instead of the "knowledge that puffeth up" he will have some of the "wisdom that edifieth." And if, after the age of thirteen or fourteen, he refuses to do his share in educating himself, let us take him out of school and set him to work under proper regulations. Bad as it may be to set children at work too soon, it is still worse to leave them in a school where they are learning only to shirk and teaching others to do so.

Let our schools at the same time extend as far as possible the good work they already do in teaching habits of courtesy. This will not of itself check superficiality or self-complacency; but it will go far to prevent it from becoming dangerous, particularly in international affairs. Bad manners have been quite as fruitful a source of international misunderstanding as bad conduct.

Second, in business matters, public or private: Let us begin by stopping our artificial encouragement of advertising. I can show what I mean by one or two instances. Congressmen have often been allowed to print and distribute at public expense speeches which they never delivered and perhaps did not write themselves, in order to show their constituents how actively they are promoting the interests of those who elected them. This is not only self-advertising, but fraudulent self-advertising. Or to take a case of another kind, not so bad in principle but worse in the amount of money involved: The in-

come tax law has allowed a man to deduct, from the taxable income of his business, a percentage for advertising which was far in excess of what most men found necessary or desirable before the law was passed. This exemption swelled the advertising columns of our periodicals, created an artificial demand for paper which hastened the destruction of our forests, and lessened to a considerable degree the amount of income on which taxes could be levied—and all for what? To increase the tendency to display beyond the point where business conditions would have pushed it unaided. Men will not "show off" quite so much when we cease to give them artificial encouragement at public expense.

But this is only a beginning. In order to deal effectively with the evil of self-assertion, we must refuse to take the self-assertive man at his own valuation. When P. T. Barnum said that the American people liked to be humbugged, he laid bare one of our most dangerous weaknesses. It is so easy for us to accept a man's own estimate of the value of his goods or policies and so hard to determine this value for ourselves that we are apt to abandon the habit of exercising our own independent judgment through sheer intellectual laziness. But this is just what the members of a free Commonwealth cannot afford to do. By listening to the man who can talk best, we fail to give a fair chance to the man who can think best or act best. The one way in which America as a nation can escape the dangers, at home and abroad, to which habits of superficial thinking and self-assertive talk have exposed us is for Americans, individually, to refuse to let themselves be imposed upon by thinking and talk of that kind.



GERMANY'S IDEALISM UNDIMMED

By GERHART HAUPTMANN

Eminent German Poet and Dramatist*

German idealism in the past and in the present—Germany the great martyr of the Reformation—Lamp of culture still burns on after the world cataclysm which brought the nation new suffering—Science, art, music and drama flourishing—Idealism in politics—Intellectual Germany today

ANY attempt to portray the intellectual life in Germany as it has developed since the World War is a big undertaking and cannot be accomplished in its entirety.

If the intellectual life of a nation were to be compared to a river, then it would be like an agitated system that has innumerable and usually concealed springs, very many tributaries and a main artery in which the volume of water is constantly increasing, while the current pushes steadily forward, stimulating and fertilizing the lowlands.

Like the origin of the Nile, that father of rivers, so both the chronological and the geographical origin of German intellectual life is shrouded in darkness. The German intellectual current also comes from afar, both as regards time and space, and if an examination is desired of any one particular portion of its course, then we must constantly bear in mind that every part can be understood only in relation to its inseparable whole. This applies also to obstructions. The war jammed and blocked German intellectual life, but the current has broken through and that which has come forth forms a whole with that which was temporarily blocked before.

I cannot seem to understand people who always see the intellectual life of a nation embodied only in what is most recent. Just as incomprehensible to me are those people who believe it can be thought of as confined within local and mental limitations. Intellect in its very character is unconfined, in respect to both time and space. Homer is just as close to me personally as Dante Alighieri; Plato

as Shakespeare; Cervantes, Balzac and Thackeray—one as near as the other in regard to both time and space.

The epoch which Germany is living through at present is one of gloom and confusion, and no German can look at it without a feeling of deep sadness. All the more necessary does it become to look backward and away from the present period into the national past and, as a second step, to synthesize both past and present into a unified and comprehensive record, embodying a powerful and outstanding chapter in the history of the development of modern man.

Germany is pre-eminently the country that has had to endure the bloodiest of all martyrdoms in the cause of European intellectual emancipation. Just as the temple, shaken by the strength of Samson, collapsed over the Philistines, so, shattered by the gigantic fists of Martin Luther, the Middle Ages also collapsed, spanned as they were by the vaulted arch of the Roman Catholic Church. For mankind this signified renaissance and revival on every side; for Germany herself it meant primarily a period of frightful suffering. When the year 1648 dawned, after a thirty years' religious war between the established Church and Lutherism, Germany had been transformed into a vast area of

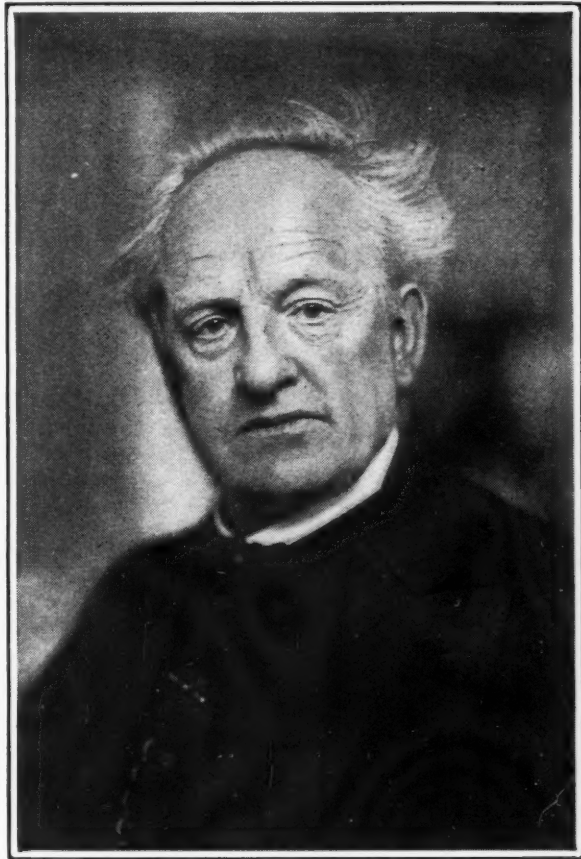
*The name of the author of this article is world-renowned. Both as poet and dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann has long occupied one of the highest positions in German letters. Through all his works there runs a vein of the deepest sympathy for the suffering of the obscure masses. Among his best known productions are "Einsame Menschen" (Lonely Souls), "Die Weber" (The Weavers), "Die versunkene Glocke" (The Sunken Bell), "Rose Berndt" and "Atlantis." Herr Hauptmann received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1912.

deserted ruins by murder, fire, hunger and plague. But the battle for intellectual freedom was won. If only the entire German people could realize those facts, then they would share the proud, strong feeling by which I, as a German, am moved as I survey the past. They would share my feeling of national self-consciousness which enables me to rise above all thrusts by an irresponsible present. Whatever it is possible to suffer has been suffered by our German people; and such suffering as they have endured is ennobling.

The German Nation has been martyred because of its intellectuality. Of hardly any other country have so many sacrifices been demanded in respect to the Christian persecutions of the Roman Catholic Church. I believe that we may include religious life with intellectuality. It would be hard to mention another country from which so many obstinate believers, devout though narrow-minded sectarians, and fervent adherents of Jesus Christ were driven, even previous to the Reformation.

While Germany, after the Reformation, was racked by frightful internal crises, England—to cite but one example—by a single clean and judicious cut, severed herself entirely from Rome, thereby avoiding a thirty years' war and reaping the blessings of the Renaissance without further disturbance. England became the refuge of many Protestants, and North America became their refuge also, that domain of vast and now united States, to the upbuilding of which these Protestant exiles contributed so much.

If true German history had been spread more universally throughout Germany, and if in the United States true American history had been similarly spread, the mutual insight thereby achieved would undoubtedly have prevented the recent alienation



International

GERHART HAUPTMANN

The greatest living writer of modern Germany. He was born at Salzbrunn, Silesia, on Nov. 15, 1862.

of the two countries. Innumerable Germans did pioneer work as brave Americans; consecrated the ground of their new home with sweat and blood, and gave up their lives in its wars for independence. In German and German-Swiss archives a very important part of the history of North America lies hidden awaiting resurrection.

The sufferings of Germany are legion. Suffering has a relation to life and the life of nations extends over many thousands of years. There is an old fairy tale which tells of a magician who cut a man into pieces, threw these into his magic kettle and cooked them; from the seething mass there arose a rejuvenated man. Germany has had to endure this process count-

less times. In the year 1871 it came from the kettle of its necromancer rejuvenated. Today, this bloody artist of a thousand arts again takes up his knife. In my opinion, politics also belongs to intellectual life, though one is almost inclined to doubt this in view of its recent manifestations.

The World War is over and Europe still lies writhing in "the old dynastic abattoir," as America's great poet, Walt Whitman, calls it. Of all the countries of Europe, Germany finds herself under the greatest pressure. It is not the first time, and, in the opinion of men, it will not be the last time, for Germany's geographic position is unfavorable.

CULTURE SURVIVES NEW AGONIES

The soil of Germany, however, contains the roots of an old culture. From 962 to 1806 this country, to greater or less degree, was the leading nation of Europe. In the soil of this German culture there are seeds from all parts of Europe, seeds from Africa and from Asia, that have been wafted over, have taken root and then developed. Proof of this is found not only in the Gothic towers, although in the Middle Ages Gothic was considered as the German art; our system of numbers and countless other more vital evidences confirm it.

This old culture still lives on, deepened and enriched by new and vigorous streams. The war has not destroyed it. Culture is the epitome of all intellectuality, and its highest flowers are art and science. Germany has not suffered in the past from comparison with other nations, nor does she suffer from comparison today. In all divisions of science, work is being done with the same enthusiasm and the same success as before. Dr. Einstein is the most popular, but only one, of our great scientists. Our physicians are still to be reckoned among the best in the world. Such scientists as Nernst, Lumer, Adolph von Harnack and Vilamowitz-Möllendorf, and countless other scientists and intellectuals, are not surpassed by other nations. A veritable army of scientific culture is ceaselessly at work.

As regards the building arts, in which I include architecture, it appears as if in this field especially a notable epoch were

about to begin. There was a lamentable decline in public architecture immediately after the establishment of the German Nation. We still have examples of this period everywhere in the post office buildings of Postmaster Stephan, whose work was so excellent in other respects. Simplicity and strength are the characteristics of present-day construction.

As to painting, there is feverish activity everywhere, activity of which youthful enthusiasm will not be deprived. I believe not a little is conveyed by these words. It is all the same to me whether an effective piece of work is called impressionistic or expressionistic. Catchwords do not interest me. It is enough for me that faith, love and hope are producing an active, buoyant effect in all these fields of endeavor, and that we believe we are increasing the sum total of beauty in the world.

The high cost of colors, canvas, and so forth, and the necessities of one's four housekeeping walls, characteristic of the post-war period, have led many artists away from painting to other graphic arts. Many of these artists have a real vocation. There is more etching than formerly, more wood-carving and more lithographing. Foreign countries are becoming more and more aware of the extraordinary results of this new tendency, and are seeking to acquire them, thereby providing for many of our prominent artists the possibility of free development. The names of Slevogt, Corinth, Max Liebermann, Ludwig von Hoffmann, Orlik and Otto Hetner, deserve especial mention in this domain.

RICH MUSICAL PRODUCTION

To tell Americans about German music would be like carrying coals to Newcastle. At any rate, they may be assured that there is as much being done in the musical world of Germany today as ever before. Musical geniuses—directors, violinists and pianists—spring up from the earth like mushrooms. Notwithstanding this, however, there has not yet appeared among the younger folk any composer of the eminence of a Gustav Mahler, Reger or Richard Strauss. The names of Schilling and Pfitzner of the older generation are known to Americans. It is amazing to

note with what power the musical springs of Germany gush forth. The opera produces works of the purest and loftiest art. A high point was achieved in "Boris Godunow," of which a masterly portrayal was given by the young and talented actor, Fritz Busch, at the Dresden State Opera.

In no other country is so much homage paid to the drama as in Germany. In Germany every city of 30,000 inhabitants has its own theatre, which, to be sure, cannot satisfy its ambition to pay homage to serious drama and to serious music. Those German cities in which this does occur are world famous. It is scarcely necessary for me to remind American readers of the Burgtheater and the Opera in Vienna, or of similar institutions in Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Darmstadt, Weimar, Berlin and other cities.

THE GERMAN STAGE

Among more recent composers, the name of Schreker stands in the foreground. Of the dramatists, aside from the late Wedekind, are Eulenberg, Sternheim, Kaiser, Werffel, Hasenclever and others, whose special importance is not to be denied.

The German stage is being experimented with in every conceivable manner. Painters like Kokoschka and sculptors like Barlach are taking part in it. Barlach possesses dramatic talent of a peculiar power. In the opinion of some, efforts like these may involve the danger of giving to the theatre too important a rôle, making of it an end for and in itself, and relegating the drama, the actual composition, to a subservient place. I myself do not fear this. I see in it a sort of reflex action from the cinema. The theatre is an empty platform, and what has occurred in the past is bound to occur in the future: Today monkeys and dogs will act upon it; tomorrow dolls; the day after that a well-known comedian; then a prominent tragedian; the *mise-en-scène* is now to play its part. The Greek mimic play, a very comprehensive dramatic type, embodied all this, and also dancing and singing, and the muse of drama was able to survive.

Germany has a substantial number of dramatic exponents of the first rank. The cinema has made the names of Bassermann, Kraus, Wegener, Jannings, Moissi, Kortner, Marr and Pallenberg quite well known even outside Germany. Among



Women of the German aristocracy who, owing to changed economic conditions, are no longer able to lead a life of luxurious ease, working on a farm as haymakers

the actresses, the names of Elise Lehmann, Lucie Höflich, Tilla Durieux and others stand out prominently. There are a great many other capable and talented artists of both sexes.

I have mentioned only a few phases of German culture as it exists today following the world cataclysm. Enough has been said to prove that the light of German idealism and German culture still burns on. German intellectuality is not a name, but a fact—a powerful and dynamic fact. Through it will Germany overcome the political crisis in which she finds herself at present. Through it will Germany survive, though her forms of government be changed. Today Germany is a republic. Germany had practically dethroned her individual princes at the time of the imperial coronation at Versailles in 1871. These princes became suddenly invisible in November, 1918, when the German Emperor left the army and the country and went to Holland. After this, the transition to a new republican form of government was automatic and logical. Thus Germany reached a condition which Switzerland had attained as far back as the sixteenth century, the fulfillment of an aspiration voiced at the same period in the battle-cry of the German peasants' war: "We want to be free like the Swiss; we want to be enslaved neither by nobles nor by princes."

IDEALISM IN POLITICS

But the moment that made this Swiss freedom a reality for us at the close of the World War threw this liberty, as it were, before a slave—into the lap of one held in chains by the world. However, as Friedrich Schiller, our great poet says: "Man is free though he be born in chains." And so the new idea of freedom (the new-old idea of freedom) raises a large portion of the German people above the bitter suffering of the hour, and gives wings to their thoughts. Another portion, imbued with similar idealism, still clings to the dynastic idea, and desires the return not only of the old external pomp but also of the old power, which they believe attainable only with an Emperor at the head of the nation and the re-establishment of the princes' old throne.

Germany is thus split today into two

halves (exclusive of all other divisions), neither of which is as yet in so secure a position that it can afford to dispense with the greatest vigilance. Each party is compelled, more than ever before, to study its aims and purposes from every angle. This necessity has given to each of the two parties a new mentality. Though many of the circles concerned have never been in close touch with politics, they will not pass over this fundamental question of government in a superficial way. And herein lies an active, mentally stimulating contrast, inspiring even to those who are by nature mentally sluggish; and productive of an unmistakable degree of self-reliance, not present before the war.

Stagnation, in the intellectual sense, is sterility. The necessity to engage in an intellectual struggle is thought-compelling. And the two camps into which Germany is torn necessitate an intellectual struggle. This struggle must not degenerate into violence, for that would mean civil war, and civil war would devastate not only the budding, widely flung fields of the new spirit, but it would mean an outburst of fury of the nation against itself. I am no prophet; often, I frankly admit, I have not been able to foresee the most probable events, and therefore I shall not strive to prejudice any one's opinion; but I believe that the danger of civil war with us has been conquered. Most Germans are quietists; every German has an inner quality the enjoyment of which is his greatest pleasure, viz, his intellectuality. It is due to this intellectuality that the German reads his poets, goes to the theatre and the movies, hears the results of scientific research, steeps himself in cosmic or natural-philosophical fantasies, and so forth. This desire of the people has grown enormously since the war.

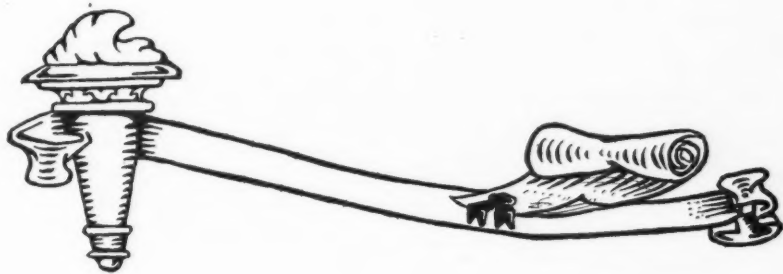
INTELLECTUAL GERMANY TODAY

What kind of an intellectual Germany has this last war left behind it? you ask. A Germany more and more impoverished, but intellectually neither dejected nor discouraged. In spite of the greatest privations, the youth of Germany pours into the universities in order to receive an education, which will guarantee its future even less than ever before. Destitution, hunger

and homelessness are, unfortunately, too often the student's lot. Even the prominent scientist, the historian, the archaeologist or the philologist whose name is known perhaps all over the world, often continues his work in spite of the greatest privation. Today the pride of our scientific world is often found riding fourth-class on the railroad, while an entirely different stratum sits in the first and second-class compartments. But just because of this, there should be no talk of degeneration or of the collapse of German culture. German idealism has always made its appearance with greatly augmented strength at the time of greatest need.

To be sure, there is still a certain apathy in German mentality, a certain degree of paralysis. This is bound up with the stupid politics with which Europe is at present disgracing itself. To this brand of politics is due the inability of the pres-

ent generation to rise decisively above its difficulties. To everything that occurs, even in our country where extraordinarily much does occur, there clings a certain resignation, a certain fatalism. Youth exists, but in comparison with former times it appears to be older from the start. This premature maturity and disillusion does not influence its work, which may even be increased thereby. On the other hand, the youth of today understands clearly that it must resign itself to losing its enjoyment of life. In these young men there is an absence of that excellent treasure of happy illusions, brilliant hopes and intoxicating exuberance found in the youth of the eighties and nineties of the last century. The fire is there, but it glimmers, glows and smolders, without blazing forth into flame—a process favored by the German tendency toward inner brooding. Some day that inner fire will again burn brightly.



THE WOMEN'S REVOLUTION

By BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE

A member of a distinguished British theatrical family, Mrs. Hale was on the stage in England and America until her marriage in 1910. Since then she has been a lecturer on the drama and the woman's movement. She is the author of "What Women Want," "What's Wrong With Our Girls?" and other books.

The sweeping change brought about by democratic ideas and industrial conditions—Effects upon married and domestic life—Aims of the advanced feminists—No evidence of moral deterioration among women

IN the last fifty to twenty-five years America has seen a change in the status, opportunities and interests of women amounting to a revolution. This revolution was the inevitable effect of two forces: the theory of democracy and the fact of industrialism.

The ideal of American democracy is equality, or, rather, equality of opportunity for all. The woman's movement, since its formal inception with the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls in 1848, has sought to apply this principle to women through changes in the common law, in the facilities for higher education, in the right to enter the learned professions and in the franchise. Within the last quarter of a century this program has practically been completed, and we may now say that the difference in opportunity between the sexes, as far as law and institutions, as apart from usage, are concerned, begins to approximate to the minimum involved in actual biological dissimilarity. The theory of democracy is now, broadly, applied to both sexes.

But this success would not have been attained without the help of modern industrialism, which was swiftly revolutionizing the lives of all women while the heaven of democratic ideals was working only in the minds of a minority. Opportunities sought as a matter of principle while America was mainly an agricultural state became necessities with the rapid rise of industrialism after the Civil War. In an agricultural community children are an economic asset. Their labor can be, and

is, utilized in field, dairy and kitchen. But among city dwellers children mean more rooms and higher rent, while work is harder to find and more specialized. Under the pressure of the high cost of living the great majority of parents are now unable to support daughters after school age, and since little productive labor can be found in city homes, it must be sought in factory, office and store. At the same time the development of labor-saving appliances continues to reduce the actual mechanical work of housekeeping, while public schools take children out of their homes during a lengthening span of years; so that women of the homemaking class enjoy greater opportunities for leisure than have ever before in history fallen to their lot. Among the well-to-do the cost of houses and servants tends to reduce the size of establishments and to transfer entertaining from homes to restaurants, with automobiles and country clubs aiding in the process. The home is thus becoming more and more an oasis of calm in an intellectual and social life lived largely outside its walls.

Here, then, and mainly during the present century, we have a threefold change in the world of women—political, economic and social; the last two are inevitable products of modern conditions and the first a logical corollary of the other two. We may briefly note the rapid growth of some of these changes in our own time before attempting to sum up the results of what is unquestionably a revolution as fundamental as that of 1776, and to analyze



BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE

its effect upon contemporary American life.

The opportunities for the higher education of women now closely approximate those of men. Except in the South, in parts of which adequate facilities are still lacking, the college girl is as integral a part of the educational life of America as the college boy.

Until 1910 women voted in only four States: Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Colorado. These were won between the years 1869 and 1896. But between 1910 and 1917 no less than eight States were captured by referenda—Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, Montana and New York. In 1918 Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma were added; in 1919 seven State Legislatures granted women the Presidential suffrage, and in 1920 the Nineteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, enfranchising the women of America, was ratified. These results were obtained by the work of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, organized in every State, with headquarters in New York and Washington, and under the Presidencies of the late

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and of Mrs. Chapman Catt, also the President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Three women have already sat in the United States Congress; thirty States have elected women legislators in the last two years, and fifteen women Mayors are holding office this year.

The largest political organization of women is the Women Voters' League, the child of the old Suffrage Association. It is strictly non-partisan in character. It seeks to educate its members in citizenship and encourage them to aspire to responsible work in their own parties. It scrutinizes measures and candidates in the interests of better politics, and endorses or initiates, in all parties, bills for the benefit of the community at large, and particularly of women, children and the home.

EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALISM

There are today over 8,500,000 women gainfully employed in the United States, representing an increase of 474,000 in the last ten years. This is nearly a quarter of the entire female population over ten years of age, while twenty years ago the proportion was nearer a sixth than a fifth. And we get this total increase in spite of the marked decrease in domestic servants; for in 1900, with a much smaller population, we had over 2,095,000 servants, while in 1920, we had but 1,012,000. Women are leaving not only their own homes, but other people's! In factory, store and office, young women find companionship and freedom out of working hours, which more than compensate them for the better pay and lighter labors of housework, and we may expect this exodus from the older trade to continue at least until private service has been reorganized and its status raised.

Outside of domestic service and agricultural labor, the single largest occupational group is the teachers, numbering 639,241. But if we count stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers and typists in one group, they head the list with 1,396,031, exceeding the domestic workers by 83,898.

Though the proportion of women working in the higher professions other than teaching is still small, it is, in most of them, increasing rapidly. The first woman

graduate in medicine in America was Elizabeth Blackwell, in 1849. There are now 7,219 women physicians practicing, and sixty medical schools admit women. Columbia University opened her doors to them only in 1918. The number of registered trained nurses has increased 83 per cent. in the last decade, being now 149,128.

The first woman lawyer in America was apparently Myra Bradwell, admitted to the Illinois bar in 1869. As late as 1894 women were being refused admittance to the bar in various States, but today they are eligible in all save Delaware. Of 129 law schools, 102 now admit women, seven having been opened to them only in 1918, and Yale in 1919; but the leading schools of Harvard and Columbia are included in the minority. The number of women lawyers and Justices has increased in the last decade from 558 to 1,738. There are now a number of women Judges, among the best known being Judge Florence E. Allen of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

We have 1,787 women clergymen, 1,714 pharmacists, 8,736 authors and journalists, 12,390 Federal civil servants, and 14,617 artists, sculptors and art teachers, to name but a few varieties of professional women; while in the field of business we find—picking them at random—such noticeable figures as 14,134 hotel owners and managers, 13,378 accountants and auditors, 8,326 manufacturers and officials, 5,304 bankers and brokers, 78,980 retail dealers, and 9,283 gardeners and fruit growers. The Census Bureau lists 678 possible occupations, of which all but thirty-three are entered by women. The sex still has to face many imponderable disabilities and much prejudice in the economic field, but broadly speaking, the artificial bars to advancement are now down.

On the social side of women's life one of the most important and significant developments is to be found in the club movement. In the smaller centres practically every woman with pretensions to culture is a member of the local club, while in large cities it is customary to belong to several study groups, clubs and leagues for civic or philanthropic work. The General Federation of Women's Clubs is the



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

Born at Johnstown, N. Y., in 1815, she was a lifelong champion of women's rights. It was with Lucretia Mott that in 1848 she issued the historic call for the first woman's suffrage convention, which was held in her home at Seneca Falls, N. Y. She died in New York in 1902.

largest organization of its kind in the world. Much time that used to be spent in calling and trivial social activities now goes to club work, and the spectacle of large groups of women studying and organizing for various cultural and civic ends, entirely without the advice or assistance of men, is something typically American and a quite new phenomenon in civilization.

The advance in effectiveness and prestige of these clubs has been particularly marked in the last two decades. The earlier clubs aimed at culture as an end in itself; but of late years, particularly since the rise of the suffrage movement, the civic departments of the clubs have grown enormously, and the tendency to value study mainly as a means toward more efficient service and citizenship constantly accelerates. Definite results are striven for, and a great body of work of such legislative and civic nature as child welfare, peace, conservation, Americanization, uniform marriage and divorce laws, parks, playgrounds, night and juvenile courts, probation officers, sanitation, dance hall and moving picture inspection, and food and milk purity, lies to the credit of the National and State Federations, and to the individual clubs themselves. It should be

noted that American club work is mainly in the hands of married women.

The proportion of women who follow professions after marriage is, though increasing, still small. In occupations followed by the poor, such as factory work, the proportion of married women is naturally higher, but they still represent but a small minority of the total number of women remuneratively employed. We have here the chief disability of women as wage earners. Their working life, as compared with men, is short, and its usually temporary nature must inevitably be taken into consideration by employers in gauging its potential value.

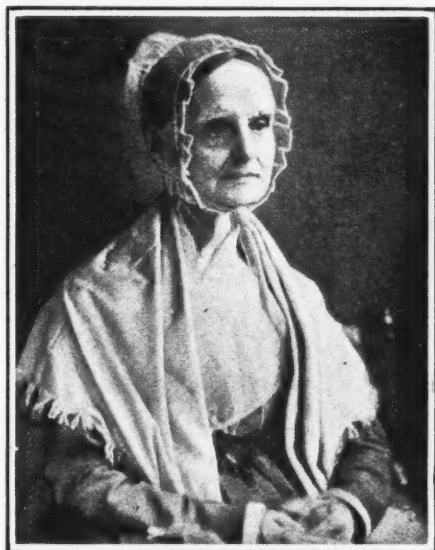
CHANGES IN HOME LIFE

To sum up: Women are now enfranchised and enjoy almost equal educational opportunities with men. They may enter practically all professions and trades, and 21.01 per cent. of them are gainfully employed. The passage by almost every State of Married Women's Property and Equal Guardianship acts has freed wives and mothers from the medievalism of the

common law. Millions of home-making women are organized for cultural, philanthropic and civic ends which modern domestic conveniences and labor-saving devices give them leisure to pursue. City homes are smaller, and social life is consequently spent more in public. Prosperity and machinery have given us on the one hand the largest leisured class of women the world has known; while on the other hand modern industrialism (replacing the old home industries by quantity production in factories), plus the increased cost of living, drives an ever larger proportion of women into extra domestic remunerative work.

One may add that in a democracy social life has not the prestige it enjoys under the monarchical system. In America rich men's sons seek advancement in business, and their sisters are beginning, under the influence of the American spirit, to follow suit, further impelled by the occupational limitations of the modern home.

These developments can be traced back over the whole period since the Civil War. But every movement has a vanguard and skirmishing parties in addition to the main body of advance. In the last two decades, and particularly since the success of the woman suffrage campaign became assured, younger and more ambitious feminists have pressed on toward new experiments, and the radicals of yesterday have, in consequence, become the conservatives of today. The demands which are now heard come from small though vocal groups; and as they are still mainly theoretical, their merits are matters of opinion, incapable as yet of practical demonstration. Among them may be noted, in the political field, the Woman's Party, seeking to set up its own program and, in certain cases, run its own candidates; in the economic field, groups which believe that women should either continue their vocations after marriage or else receive a State endowment as mothers, rendering them economically independent of their husbands; in the social field, a tendency to keep the maiden name after marriage and a belief that divorce should be obtainable by mutual consent, as in Norway and France; finally, there is the birth control movement, mainly feminist in origin but ad-



LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT

Born at Nantucket in 1793, she married James Mott, the abolitionist, and with him took a leading part in both the anti-slavery agitation and the fight for women's rights. With Elizabeth Cady Stanton she summoned the first woman's suffrage convention at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848. She died near Philadelphia in 1880



LUCY STONE

Born at West Brookfield, Mass., in 1818, she was graduated from Oberlin College in 1847 and in 1855 married Dr. Henry B. Blackwell, retaining, however, her maiden name. She played an important part in the women's suffrage movement for many years until her death, at Boston, in 1893.

hered to by many non-feminists on purely scientific and humanitarian grounds.

The more advanced feminist movement may be said to divide itself along lines of temperament into those whose first pre-occupation is with women's status as individuals and those who are primarily concerned with their racial contribution as mothers. The one school seeks to limit the special legal and social safeguards and immunities of women in the interests of freedom, the other to increase them in the interests of eugenics. Thus we see the General Federation of Clubs and the Women Voters' League pressing for minimum hour and wage bills for women, and the Woman's Party as earnestly opposing them. This confusion of opinion is inevitable in dealing with a phenomenon as unprecedented as the sudden mass emergence of the sex into business and industry.

Within the limits of a historical review it is exceedingly difficult to pronounce upon the gains and losses to the community of this revolution. Its fruits are too recent to have been digested; statistical accounts are confusing; and opinion tends

to divide itself according to the dictates of instinct and emotion rather than by the cold processes of logic. Indeed, there is no subject on which people are less willing to reason than the woman question.

The first fact that emerges is the steady increase in the national divorce rate. This is, of course, a grave evil, but whether attributable or not to the woman's movement it is impossible to say. Higher education certainly tends to raise the standard demanded in marriage, and economic independence offers women an escape from unhappiness hitherto unavailable. On the other hand, there is no evidence to show that college and professional women produce more than their quota of divorcées. On the contrary, it is rather among the newly rich and parasitic groups that broken marriages seem commonest. It must also be realized that the stress of business life, pursued at an increasing distance from the home, divides men from their families to an extent unknown in simpler days, and forces women into a mental independence of their husbands hitherto seldom experienced. There is unquestionably alarm among thoughtful women at the increase in divorce, but at present no practical suggestions toward arresting it have been forthcoming. The ideal standard of marriage in America is probably the highest in the world, but the younger and more energetic a community is the less likely it is to prove patient in disappointment.

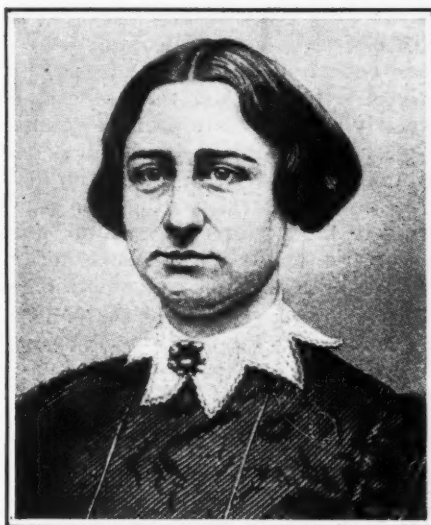
NO EVIDENCE OF MORAL DECLINE

The character of American women under the impact of modern conditions has, it would seem to the observer, gained in strength, honesty, initiative, camaraderie, and self-confidence, but perhaps lost somewhat in patience, sweetness, and the more superficial "feminine" traits. There is no evidence to show that their moral quality has deteriorated. The present is an age of publicity. Much that used to be hidden is now blazoned; hypocrisy is a dying vice; here probably lies the sufficient explanation of changes which might seem, superficially, to indicate a loosening of moral standards in the rising generation. A materialism, common to both sexes, is discernible in our large cities, but is probably

attributable to the sudden and enormous advance in national prosperity during the last few decades. We have also to allow for the heavy influx of foreigners who, casting aside their own traditions, have not yet had time to assimilate those of America.

Turning to the question of motherhood, we find, as in all civilized countries, that the native birthrate is steadily declining. Our foreign birthrate is almost double that of our native-born; an alarming fact until we note that the infant-mortality rate is exactly twice as great among children of the foreign, as opposed to the native, born. The American ideal seems, therefore, to be quality rather than quantity; say three well-spaced healthy births without mortality as against a family of six or more with only half surviving.

Among the native-born the standard of infant care and home sanitation is extraordinarily high. Classes in sex and infant hygiene, baby clinics, Montessori and kindergarten methods, diet and child psychology, seem to give the lie to those



REV. ANTOINETTE LOUISA
BLACKWELL, D. D.

Born at Henrietta, N. Y., in 1825, and being graduated from Oberlin College in 1847, Antoinette Brown was the first woman in America to be regularly ordained as a minister of religion. She preached in Congregational churches, became a leader in the struggle for women's rights, and wrote a number of books. She married in 1856 a brother of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman to practice medicine in the United States



ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M. D.

Born at Bristol, England, in 1821, she came to America in 1831. After much opposition she was admitted to Geneva Medical College, Geneva, N. Y., where she was graduated with highest honors in 1849, being thus the first woman to obtain a medical degree in the United States. In 1869 she settled in London, where, after a long and distinguished career as a practitioner, founder of hospitals and writer, she died in 1910

who assert that the modern woman in expanding her horizon has neglected her home. On the contrary, the twentieth century, which has seen the triumph of feminism, is frequently referred to as the "Century of the Child." More science and thought has gone into child-care in the last quarter century than probably in all past history put together.

The writer, in a very wide acquaintance with girls' schools, has found constant witness borne by teachers to the fine response of present-day girlhood to ideals of service both as homemakers and citizens; a particularly encouraging fact at a time when so much criticism has been leveled at girls for their dress, manners and amusements.

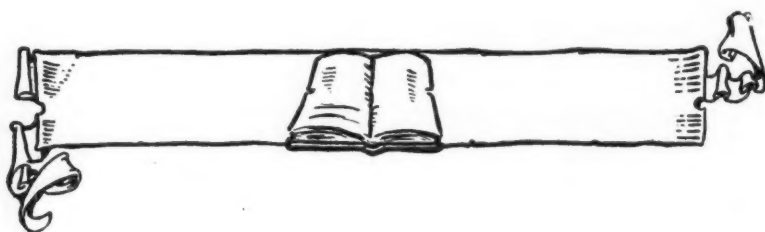
The coming of automobiles, moving pictures, apartment houses, clubs and amusement parks has undoubtedly changed the outward characteristics of home life, and remunerative work and wider interests have reduced the number of hours spent by women and girls in their homes. But

how far these changes are for the worse is still entirely a matter of opinion. With higher education and economic independence, girls marry later than of old, but very early marriages are probably quite as undesirable eugenically as very late ones. The number of married women who deliberately avoid maternity altogether is, according to the writer's observation, nugatory; but the tendency of parents to control the number of births is unquestionable. The high cost of living and the ambition of parents to give their children every possible advantage are at the root of this development. There is no evidence that women's economic opportunities have greatly accelerated it, for, as we have seen, except among the very poor, where the limitation of families fails to materialize, the number of women who engage in remunerative work after marriage is exceedingly small.

Women are free to choose between homemaking and a career. They will be free only in exceptional cases to pursue both simultaneously while the supply of domestic workers and nurses remains inadequate and their cost prohibitive, or

until some workable system of co-operative housekeeping has been established to take their place. The "teacher-mother" controversy in the New York school system in 1912-13 is an example of the strength of the persisting prejudice against any attempt at this double functioning by women, even when demonstrably possible. Meanwhile, ambition may draw a few women altogether away from home life, but these are probably of the natural spinster type, unlikely to marry in any case.

There is an intelligence and enthusiasm in American women very engaging to foreign observers, and a healthfulness and vitality in American home life which would be impossible if these women had, in the pursuit of other interests, neglected domestic duties. We are safe in assuming that the more highly feminine intelligence and initiative are developed, the finer will be the resulting type of wives and mothers: and that the abundant vitality of the American spirit will triumph over the difficulties inevitable to a new order, itself the product of industrial and social conditions inherent in the very fabric of contemporary civilization.



THE GERMAN STAND ON REPARATIONS

By COUNT JOHANN HEINRICH A. VON BERNSTORFF

German Ambassador to the United States from Nov. 14, 1908, to Feb. 3, 1917, when diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany were broken off

The German policy of resistance due to the harsh terms of the Versailles Treaty—Reaction in Germany used by France as a pretext for punitive measures—The League of Nations as a possible arbiter, if the reparations problem is not settled by new negotiations

THE reparations question is holding all Europe in suspense and in no country of the Old World can an era of perfect peace dawn until this question is solved. The victors in the World War could easily have solved it at Versailles, had they so desired. But instead of adhering to the preliminary peace so solemnly concluded by President Wilson they broke this peace and imposed upon Germany burdens which, even at that time, every discerning person knew were unbearable. Any one can gain full information on these points by reading the memoirs of President Wilson. When that statesman was asked at Versailles whether he would not appeal to the public he replied that he could not do this, because in that case he would have to acknowledge openly that the blame for the peace failure must be laid upon France. No one can say of President Wilson that he was prejudiced in favor of Germany. It is, nevertheless, made clear on every page of his memoirs that France did not desire a permanent, just peace, but wanted, primarily, the dismemberment of Germany.

The major portion of public opinion in the world today is probably of the same opinion as President Wilson was at that time. Immediately after the Treaty of Versailles was concluded the war psychosis still held sway and the world believed every harshness toward Germany justified, though a solemn promise had been made, according to which the German Republic was not to have imposed upon it the penalties that would have been meted out to Imperial Germany.

In Germany the majority of people understood clearly the aims of the French, and German politics since the Treaty of Versailles must be considered from this standpoint, if we are to do it justice. Had a less rigorous peace been concluded, the Republic would have been consolidated forthwith and would have begun zealously to fulfill its promises, for on the one hand the monarchy was in disrepute because it had thrust Germany into misery, and, on the other hand, all German diplomats realized clearly that the devastated areas of France would have to be reconstructed.

This development, however, was frustrated by the exaggerated conditions of the Treaty of Versailles and by French politics. Germany signed the peace treaty and the London ultimatum because she knew that otherwise France, with the consent of her allies, could carry through her desire of dismembering Germany. The unity of Germany under all circumstances had to be maintained as long as possible. It was to be hoped that later the world would turn against the French policy of annexation if Germany showed good-will and the desire to do her utmost. This was the train of thought underlying the so-called fulfillment policy.

Meanwhile, the severe pressure upon Germany exerted by French policy generated a reactionary attitude in Germany which made it very difficult for the Government to carry out the fulfillment policy. An agreement had almost been within reach at Cannes, but it was frustrated by the fall of Briand; and then, when France absolutely declined to discuss the

reparations question at Geneva, the growing reaction in Germany led to the murder of Walter Rathenau, the chief representative of the fulfillment policy. Instead of finding support abroad, Germany had to fight for her very existence, because of foreign pressure against a radical reaction which glorified to a remarkable extent the very men who had plunged Germany into misfortune.

The reaction thus instigated and also, in part, supported by France, was then utilized by her to demonstrate Germany's warlike aspirations and to condemn her before the world. A more propitious attitude toward Germany did not come until France revealed her true aims by her occupation of the Ruhr region. If the French Government had really desired Germany to pay, it would certainly not have had recourse to a method whereby such payments were made absolutely impossible. Therefore the unarmed nation had no other recourse but to take up the weapon of passive resistance. Notwithstanding the fact that the splendid bearing of the Rhine and the Ruhr population was influenced here and there by some foolish acts of sabotage, the idea of passive resistance in its deeper sense remained unchanged. It was the struggle of pacifism versus militarism and might. It was the struggle against the belief that economic questions can be settled by bayonets.

No discerning person believed, however, that passive resistance alone would drive the French out of the German territory thus illegally seized. The German people wanted to prove to the French, however, that only negotiations based upon an equality of rights could bring about a solution of the reparations question, and that an agreement would be impossible if the French had intentions of annexing German territory. Now, as much as formerly, Germany desires to pay according to her capacities, but only if the unity of the nation and the people is secured. The German Nation is an entity, as much as the French Nation, though the Government of the former is decentralized and that of the latter centralized.

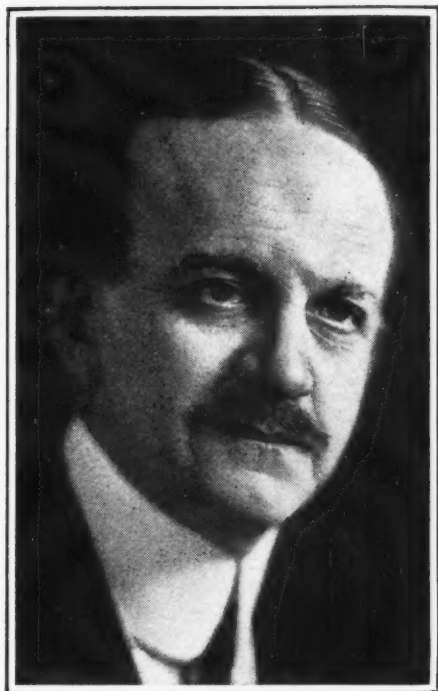
England recently took the leadership and made an earnest effort to bring about peace. The recent pronouncement of Dr. Stresemann puts a new complexion on the

situation. Many difficulties, however, still lie in the way. We do not know how far the informal negotiations between Germany and France have to go before a settlement is reached. It is even within the range of possibilities that no settlement may be reached for some time to come, and it has been suggested that the reparations issue, as well as the question of interallied debts and the so-called guarantees, may eventually have to be referred to the League of Nations.

THE LEAGUE AS ARBITER

From the German standpoint there is considerable to be said against this, inasmuch as we have had no good experience with the League of Nations as yet. The same is true, however, of all other allied institutions, such as the Reparation Commission, the Diplomats' conferences, and so forth. If Germany is to be taken into the negotiations on an absolutely equal footing, as mentioned in Article 17 of the Acts of the League of Nations, then this form is as good as any other for the negotiations.

Today the League of Nations is not yet a super-State organization, but simply a convention of diplomats, similar to the old Frankfort Federal Congress, which is differentiated from other diplomatic gatherings only by the forms of entrance. The advantage of the League of Nations in this case lies in the fact that it will be easier for French prestige to accept a decision by Geneva rather than by any other arbiter, especially in view of the fact that France declared this solution possible in last year's plenary meeting of the League of Nations. Furthermore, there is a strong current of opinion in France which, to put it briefly, would rather have money than the Rhine. This tendency desires that the issue be referred to the League of Nations, as in the case of Austria, to which the French delegation was unanimously favorable. This solution, apparently, depends on whether England, on the one hand, and the aforesaid French tendency on the other, are strong enough to reach the desired goal. I should like to assume so. Mankind wants peace and this is out of the question if France annexes the Rhine. A French policy of that kind would inevitably lead to the end attained by Louis XIV. and Napoleon I.



COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF
Former German Ambassador to the
United States

The main difficulty in the way of a solution by the League of Nations is that it will make America's participation more difficult. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that America cannot take the political leadership, because that would be against her traditions. Furthermore, the United States, in spite of its political party opposition to the League of Nations, participated in the Austrian loan. The latter action is decisive for me, for it proves that America also wants to participate in the restoration of Germany, if England or the League of Nations respectively takes the lead. No sensible person, who knows the conditions in America, ever expected more.

At any rate, it would be desirable for the United States to have a representative at the negotiations, if only because of the question of interallied debts.

The question of the so-called guarantees, which are demanded of an unarmed Germany by a France armed to the teeth, can be solved only by the League of Nations. It is not possible otherwise. Germany must enter the League of Nations simultaneously with an agreement regarding the reparations questions, and the League in its turn must guarantee a reciprocal guarantee treaty. For Germany also needs a guarantee, viz., that France will not keep the Rhine in spite of substantial German payments. France has never been embarrassed by a lack of reasons for taking punitive actions. Germany will gladly make the greatest sacrifices if it is a question of freeing her people from foreign pressure, but only under these conditions, for she cannot forget how she was deceived at Versailles. No German Government can ask these heavy sacrifices of the people, if there be no hope for better times. Psychologically this would be impossible, and it is especially in the payment of taxes that psychology plays so important a part. This is true also of the guarantees in general.

Practically, there is, of course, only one guarantee against future wars, viz., the reconciliation of nations. Unfortunately, the victors did not want to tread this path at Versailles. That is why we still live in a latent war condition. Today England would like to make an attempt to retrieve the mistakes and omissions of the past. Germany, as shown by the recent statements of the German Premier, is ready to do her utmost to secure a solution. May France show a similar spirit, and may a settlement be reached satisfactorily to all parties, before Europe becomes a waste of ruins!



GERMANY IS DISARMED

By HERMANN JOSEPH VON KUHLE

German Infantry General before the war; Chief of the General Staff of the First (von Kluck's) Army and subsequently of the army group under the command of the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria; author of several books on the war

How the German army was reduced to 100,000 men—The great increase in France's fighting forces since the war—Dismemberment of Germany, not reparations, the real aim of French policy

NOT so very long ago the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of France adopted a new military law, through which the one and one-half years active service measure came into effect. Many Deputies favored a period of twelve months. The leading argument presented was the necessity of being secured against German aggression. Increased minimum strength of the army was deemed necessary, in view of Germany's 70,000,000 population, and also to insure the execution of the Treaty of Versailles and to render any further German attack impossible.

Since all sorts of stories are in circulation regarding secret military organizations and hidden arms in Germany, the truth about the military situation should be made known and the fact clearly established that the disarmament of Germany has been completed long ago.

Germany, which before the war had an army of 761,000 men, has now only 100,000 men under the colors. The general defense organization had to be abolished. The present army is composed of men whose period of service is twelve years. The reason for this arrangement is to prevent the dismissal each year of trained men who would in time of mobilization furnish a contingent of millions of soldiers who would bring the army to fighting strength. All men who had been in the army had to be released from all military duties. All preparations for mobilization are prohibited. The most important modern war implements, such as flying machines, heavy artillery, gas bombs and tanks, are

forbidden. Concerning the organization of the army, Germany is subject to the most minute regulations. The number of commanding Generals and of infantry and cavalry divisions, of the staffs and troops, of military schools, of machine guns, mine throwers and cannon is strictly prescribed. German war industry has been destroyed or changed into peace industry.

The Great General Staff, the War Academies in Berlin and Munich, all war administrations, cadet corps and officers' schools have been abolished. There remain now but four military schools for infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineers. All stocks of guns and munitions above the limits set have been delivered as prescribed. A few manufacturers are authorized to make only the most necessary war material.

The equipment and armament of the police force had to be so reduced that every third man only is provided with a rifle, and only one machine gun is assigned to every twenty men.

The work of the razing of fortresses has been so thoroughly carried out that the entire line of fortifications on the western border has been demolished. The other fortresses to the south and east of Germany have been rendered practically valueless, as their armament has been prohibited. On the other hand, the few fortresses which are armed have a ridiculously small number of cannon, as, for instance, the great fortress of Königsberg, which has but twenty-two pieces of heavy artillery. Thus Germany is unprotected also on her eastern border.

As Germany is not permitted to have



DR. GUSTAV STRESEMANN
A recent portrait of the new German
Chancellor

any airplanes or hydroplanes, 1,400 of these implements had to be either destroyed or given up. The conditions imposed for the manufacture of commercial airplanes and dirigible balloons in respect to rapidity, altitude, ballast, size, and so forth, are such that the competitive power of German industry compared with foreign industry is so limited and restricted that it is almost equivalent to prohibition of construction.

CONTROL COMMISSIONS' TASK COMPLETE

In order to supervise and control Germany's disarmament, interallied commissions of control have been instituted, which are presided over by the French General Nollet and which are wholly under French influence. These control commissions, including the Military Commission, the Naval Commission and the Aerial Supervision Commission, were organized

after the war with the sole object of seeing that the clauses bound up with the time limit of disarmament be executed.

The principal considerations were to reduce the German Army to 100,000 men, to execute the general disarmament clauses, including the razing of fortifications, and to secure industrial disarmament. Here arose difficulties, as the time limit was too short. The difficulties increased when it was requested that not only should the fortifications be rendered useless, but also that all contributing appliances be eliminated; that the bomb-proof rooms be destroyed to their foundations, and that the reinforced concrete be diminished. Not considering the industrial and financial losses of such operations for the moment, it was impossible to comply with the requirements in the allotted time. The disarmament of Germany was not complete, according to the Commission of Control, unless rusty bayonets of 1871 were destroyed, knapsacks torn up and the leather canteen straps put out of commission.

GERMANY HAS DISARMED

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Germany has fulfilled the imposed terms in all essential points. The time of the control commissions being up, their work should have stopped then and there. But whenever somewhere in Germany a few forgotten or concealed weapons have been found, such incidents have become the excuse for continuing the existence of the commissions, whose upkeep is extremely costly and whose activity causes continuous conflict.

Germany has without doubt completely disarmed. Lloyd George has declared this publicly. According to the terms of the Versailles Treaty it was to be presumed that a new era of permanent world peace would follow this disarmament. The disarmament of Germany was to be the first step leading to a general disarmament.

The peace treaty stipulates as follows: "In order to bring about a general reduction of armament of the Powers, Germany agrees to observe strictly the clauses concerning the land, sea and air forces." In the covering note of June 16, 1919, this object is specially emphasized, viz: "The allied and associated powers deems it nec-

essary to affirm that the terms relative to Germany's disarmament aimed not merely at making it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression, but were, above all, devised to be a first step to reduce armament, which the Powers consider the best means to prevent war." In another part of the treaty it is specially stipulated that execution of this program is binding only if Germany fulfills her disarmament obligations.

What, then, have the other European powers done toward disarmament? We may here cite the impartial judgment of Lloyd George and the former Italian Premier Nitti. Lloyd George made this statement published in the German press in January, 1923:

The two great military powers of Central Europe (Germany and Austro-Hungary) exist no more. Germany, which before the war boasted an army of 800,000 men on a peace footing and a reserve of 3,000,000 trained men, is limited today to an army of 100,000, about one-third of the present army of Poland. The Austrian army, which before the war comprised 420,000 men, and a reserve of two or three million trained men, is reduced today to a paltry 30,000 men.

Notwithstanding the above facts, France keeps under arms an army of 736,000 men, with a trained reserve of two to three million men. It strengthens and develops its air forces, as if it dreaded or contemplated an invasion. In 1914 France had an air fleet of 400 units; today it has 1,152 units. But figures mean little. What is essential is the size, the power and the object of these machines. Among the 1,152 air units there are bomb-throwers of a destructive power unknown in 1914. * * *

Not one of the neighbor nations of France disposes today of a fourth of the forces possessed by the powerful French army. Germany can no longer be used as a screen. Germany's population corresponds to the combined population of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, but its army totals scarcely one-seventh of the combined forces of these four nations. Rumania alone, with a population of 15,000,000, has an army twice as big as the Versailles Treaty permits Germany to have, with a population of 50,000,000.

How little Europe has done in the way of disarmament is set forth by Signor Nitti in his book, "Peaceless Europe," as follows:

Taking it all in all, Europe at this hour has more men under arms than in 1913. Not only has no disarmament been effected, such as the

Entente constantly proclaimed to be the logical result of the victory of democratic principles, but on the contrary the victors have increased and are increasing their armaments more and more. The more difficult it appears, in view of the severity and absurdity of the peace terms, to carry them out, the more necessary it seems to have a big army.

FRANCE'S VAST ARMY AIMED AT GERMANY

Lloyd George has stated that France holds the first place in this situation. A complete reorganization of the French Army aimed at Germany is under way. The peace army, according to French views, must be strong enough to crush the German opponent without having to wait to mobilize the entire national army. Protected by the present war implements, such as tanks, gas bombs and aerial torpedoes, which are already at hand on the Rhine, the active peace army, also called the border army, must decide the issue in the first weeks of the conflict. This viewpoint has been recognized as a decisive factor in the reorganization of the army. This peace army has another duty, and that is to bring security during the mobilization of the entire nation, which is somewhat lengthy.

Though a strong peace army is considered necessary, France, in view of the gigantic burdens imposed by the war, has been no less than other States compelled to shorten the term of active military service, though this entailed a decrease in the peace army. When Poincaré, however, points to this decrease as a first step toward disarmament, he encounters the objection that the total war strength, which embraces all trained men of the nation, is in no way influenced thereby. The reduction, moreover, is very insignificant, and is offset by an increase in the number of men voluntarily serving beyond the term fixed by law, and, above all, by an even greater number of soldiers drawn from the French natives of Africa. The peace strength of the French army at the beginning of 1923 totaled 758,000 men—543,000 French nationals, 120,000 North African natives and 95,000 natives of other French colonies.

The future organization of the French army, it is true, will cause a reduction of specifically French infantry, but will bring a considerable increase in the num-

ber of North African regiments. Thirty regiments of Turcos will be formed. Above all, an increased number of tanks, machine guns and air fleet is planned. Twenty-two tank regiments instead of the originally proposed fourteen, besides 132 aerial battle squadrons (airplane chasers and bombing machines), and seventy-six observation squadrons, divided into eighteen regiments, are embraced in the projected bill. The planned reorganization means therefore a substantial increase of the fighting forces of the French army.

The crushing superiority of France over Germany is best illustrated when one considers the importance of air fighting in a future war. The possibilities can be realized only when one visualizes the wonderful developments of the World War in respect to aircraft and motors, the consequent increase of cruising radius, carrying capacity and speed. Before the close of the war air-fighting machines reached an altitude of 6,000 meters, attained a speed of 150 kilometers an hour and fired bombs weighing 1,000 kilos. Today one hears of bombs weighing 2,000 kilos and with a fearfully destructive capacity, devised to attack large targets such as big industrial works. Armored giant planes carrying thirty machine guns are in the making, it is announced, for the purpose of fighting hostile infantry.

One English specialist, General Groves, declared in *The London Times* that in future wars gas bombs, contrary to all international rules, would probably be used against big cities. Future wars will not be conducted any more on a first-line front, but will be directed against the forces behind the front. Each side will strive as quickly as possible to attack the very heart of its adversary, reaching its mobilization centres, its munition factories and the central points of resistance. "Unquestionably," states General Groves, "such an offensive is what every country may expect at the beginning of the next war. And in the next war no civilians will be spared."

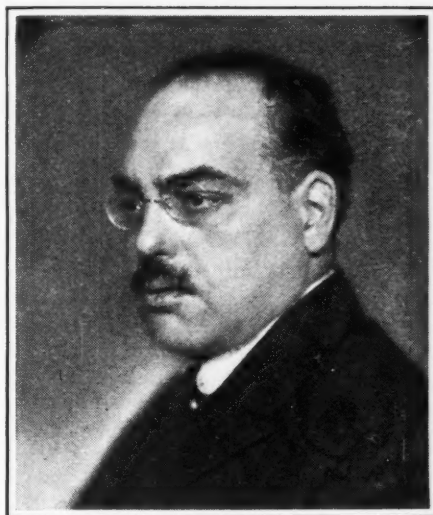
FORMIDABLE FRENCH AIR FLEET

France now has fifty-four chaser units, forty-eight bomb units and sixty observation sections, making a total of 162

flying sections, with 1,500 flying machines. According to information compiled by the American military air specialist in Paris and published in the aviation press, in time of mobilization each unit of airplane chasers will form three mobile units, and the other sections, including bombing and observation planes, will make two more units each, so that altogether the French aerial fleet will comprise 162 plane chasers, 96 bomb units and 120 observation units, making a total of 378 with 3,402 flying machines. For such an unusual increase in time of war France has ready to be used 4,000 airplanes and has had 2,400 pilots instructed in the last three years.

It is a well-known fact that England in her insular situation feels her inferiority and strives to establish a notable increase of her air forces. But in what a situation is Germany, who has no air forces at all! Germany is absolutely defenseless against such a gigantic offensive force as France disposes of. Along the German border the French regiments of bomb-throwers are ready to swoop down upon Germany.

The question arises: For what fundamental purpose is this enormous prepara-



DR. RUDOLF HILFERDING

One of the outstanding figures among German Socialists who has become Finance Minister in the Stresemann Cabinet, formed after the resignation of Chancellor Cuno

tion of France directed against Germany? Does France seek only reparations or does she want to destroy Germany? Is she acting through fear or vengeance? Let Nitti speak:

The occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and the bridgeheads is an act of vengeance, but behind that act one perceives the heed for the future. How many are there in France who believe or think that either now or in fifteen years the territory of the beaten enemy will be evacuated? This explains why France has so great an army, why she is filled with such hatred. It also helps us to understand why France helped the Poles in their outrageous attacks on Silesia; why she makes it difficult for Germans in Austria to earn a living; why she is ready at all times to encourage any movement and any political agitation that will cut Germany to pieces.

Nitti is of the opinion that French politicians, while calculating and estimating the cost of reparations, have in view only one aim—to keep the upperhand over Germany:

No sane man, it can be truthfully said, has ever thought that Germany can pay more than a billion a year, and no one believes seriously that a civilized or cultured land can be controlled for thirty years. The dominating aim of all the treaties is to destroy Germany, to dismember Germany, to strangle Germany.

No one really believes in the payment of big reparation damages. But, says Nitti, the fact that Germany cannot comply with the articles of the treaty gives France the right to extend the period of occupation and possibly to make it more strict; to exclude Germany from the League of Nations, and thus to make it easier to dismember her. Nitti further says: "The reason why France has opposed any swift solution of the question of reparations is that if this question remains unsolved, France will have the right to keep definite possession of the left bank of the Rhine and of the bridgeheads."

FRENCH AIM TO DISMEMBER GERMANY

André Tardieu, in his book "La Paix" ("The Peace"), which gives detailed information regarding the peace negotiations of 1919, makes complaint that "the peace has not parceled out Germany." We learn also from this same book, as well as from Mermeix's book, "The Battle of the Three," that during the peace negotiations



DR. RUDOLF BREITSCHIED

One of the most prominent of the Independent Socialist leaders in Germany, an authority upon foreign affairs in the Reichstag, and an advocate of a definite, concrete offer to France in regard to reparations

Marshal Foch stubbornly insisted that the Rhine become the military border of France. The territory of the left bank of the Rhine, he declared, should be completely detached from Germany. The ideas of Foch were not entertained, as the British Premier declared he would not create a new Alsace-Lorraine, and President Wilson would not approve of a further dismemberment of Germany. Even Clemenceau had to submit, though he did not conceal his inner thoughts on the Rhine frontier. At a Cabinet meeting in Paris on April 25, 1919, he concluded a sensational speech directed at Poincaré, with the following words:

Mr. President, you are much younger than I am. In fifteen years I shall be dead. In fifteen years the Germans will not have complied with all the terms of the treaty, and in fifteen years, if you will do me the honor to come to my grave, I am convinced that you will say: "We are on the Rhine, and we will remain there."

In the meantime France not only remains on the left bank of the Rhine and

at the bridgeheads, but she is also on the right bank, and since January, 1923, she occupies the Ruhr.

In this instance also Nitti has recently expressed his view. The Ruhr invasion, he declares, undoubtedly constitutes a breach of the Versailles Treaty, which since 1920 has been violated daily. He further says:

The French have no right to occupy the Saar (Sarre) region, and yet they are there. Silesia was to be ruled according to a plebiscite, but as the plebiscite proved to favor Germany, upper Silesian territory was divided into parcels. Since 1921 the French are occupying the right bank of the Rhine. Contrary to all arguments advanced by unscrupulous jurists, the occupation is not warranted by the treaty. The objects which France has in view are very clear: Complete separation of the Rhine provinces from Germany in order to annex them to France, or to establish a so-called autonomous Rhenish State under a customs agreement with France and subject to her political control. By taking away Germany's richest coal deposits and by maintaining control over the Ruhr, the French would obtain a monopoly of the metallurgical industry and would wield full military and industrial power.

The occupation of the Ruhr is not intended to obtain reparation from Germany, but rather means the renunciation of such reparation and an attempt to force the industrialists of the Ruhr to yield to French control. A long occupation of the Ruhr has no other object than to subject German industries which are dependent on the metallurgical industry exclusively to French control.

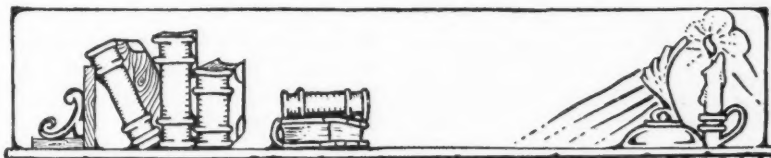
GIGANTIC COST OF OCCUPATION

From the German viewpoint there is nothing to add to these considerations. Were France bent only on recovering reparations, the surest way to obtain them would be to withdraw from the occupied

region, so as to do away with the tremendous costs of occupation which Germany has to bear. How much more profitable would it have been if the money had been applied to financing on a wide scale the reconstruction of France.

The high costs of this occupation are due to the number of men composing the garrisons. According to the clauses of the peace treaty the occupation strength of the former German garrisons in the Rhineland was to be considered the maximum for the allied occupation. Instead of the former German garrisons of 70,000, distributed in twenty-eight localities, there were in September, 1921, 145,000 men in 220 localities.

This extensive occupation is in ratio with the scope of the accommodation requirements, although these are not stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles or in the Rhine agreement. Besides the existing thirty-two German target practice and drilling grounds, fifty-four new sites have been imposed on Germany, as well as nineteen new aviation grounds, in addition to the seven which were in existence, all at Germany's expense. In sixty-one localities 250 factories have been seized. Houses of prostitution for the white and black troops of occupation had to be provided to meet the wishes of the French, even in small localities. The price of rentals for living purposes has increased unbearably. At the end of 1922, besides the existing barracks, the French took possession of 15,000 apartments and in addition 10,000 rooms. Thus the Rhineland has become an immense military camp at the expense of another nation, depriving her thereby of all means to meet her financial obligations.



GERMANY IS NOT DISARMED

By PIERRE M. G. MALLETERRE

Brigadier General (Reserve), French Army; author of numerous works on military and political aspects of the war

Facts that offset the German claim that disarmament has been brought about—Necessity of compelling observance of treaty obligations the reason for France's large army

GERMAN propaganda does not weary of spreading error and falsehood throughout the world. The methods have changed no more than the German mentality. The thesis is as simple as it is specious: France desires the ruin and death of Germany; Germany conquered, disarmed, unable to recover, is at the mercy of French imperialism and militarism.

This thesis is taken up again by General von Kuhl, former Chief Staff Officer of the First Army. Relying upon statesmen whom he considers impartial—Lloyd George and Nitti—he concludes that France is continuing her war against Germany, and that her object is not so much to be paid what is due her, France not being ignorant of Germany's present financial powerlessness, but rather to assure her "safety" by keeping in her possession the left bank of the Rhine and the Ruhr.

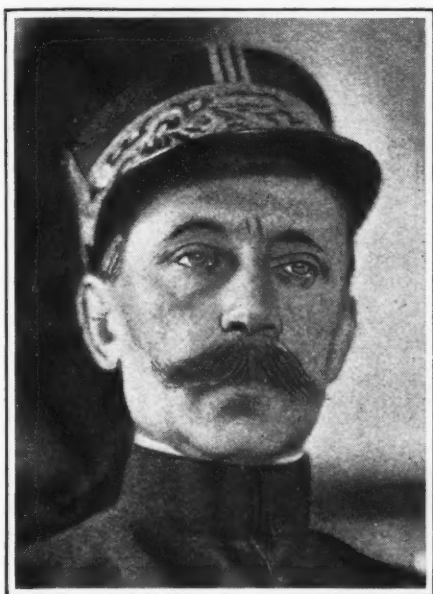
In order to understand present events and the true aim of French policies, one must not merely follow the daily incidents in a struggle which appears to be a continuation of the war. It is necessary to go back to the war itself, its origins, and its outcome, and to consider how Germany, during the last three years, has lived up to the Treaty of Versailles which she signed. In point of fact, the war and its consequences, the defeat and the treaties, the ruins and the reparations, the crime and the expiation, are all interconnected, and must be viewed as one.

The Treaty of Versailles has established three fundamental principles, viz.: (1) The responsibility of Germany in the war;

(2) the reparation of the destruction wrought; and (3) the disarmament of Germany. These are new principles, which are not to be found in any other treaty, and which define the character and the consequences of this unprecedented war let loose by German imperialism.

This is the first time that any nation has ever acknowledged at the very outset of a treaty its sole responsibility for a war. It will be said, and it is already proclaimed loudly in Germany, that it is only because she was forced by defeat and by the "law of the victor" that Germany resigned herself to this supreme humiliation of confessing publicly her crime and signing her confession, and that such pledges in no way bind a nation morally, and bind still less the sons of those who signed them. But all these protests and disavowals, all the revolt of national feeling can have no force for the States and the peoples who, after solemn deliberations and due consideration of the actual facts, have forestalled the judgment of history. For the present we allies, we Frenchmen, must stand by the terms of the treaty, and we intend that guilty Germany shall fulfill the treaty, expiate her crimes and be reduced to impotence.

The reparation of the destruction wrought is also a new clause. In previous treaties the victor demanded an indemnity covering the total cost of the war. In 1871 Germany fixed at 5,000,000,000 francs (\$1,000,000,000) the ransom of France. Germany had estimated the financial capacity of France, and, in the mind of Bismarck, this indemnity, which seemed formidable at the time, would



PIERRE MARIE GABRIEL
MALLETERRE

Brigadier General (Reserve), French Army; Director of the French Army Museum; author of numerous books on the war. He had his right leg amputated during the fighting

make it impossible for France to recover for a long period of years.

In 1919 it did not seem possible to ask Germany to pay the total of the Allies' war costs, which amount to more than one thousand billions. The Allies, therefore, separated from the total cost the damage done to persons and property, and limited Germany's obligations to the payment of just reparations.

It is regrettable that, instead of intrusting the appraisal to a Reparations Commission, the Allies did not set an amount that would be total and final. They must, however, have foreseen that a precise estimate would be very difficult, or at least very long to determine, and that Germany would not fail to argue on every point. It would, however, have been better to impose a reparation indemnity in definite figures and to determine the modes of payment in specie or in kind, the annuities, the eventual seizure of securities, and so forth, and then leave it to the Allies to apportion it among themselves. But the failure to do this does not alter

the fact that Germany pledged herself to pay reparations.

Lastly, the third unusual fact in the annals of treaties was the obligation of Germany to disarm and to reduce the powerful military organization of 1914 to mere police forces. This disarmament was but the logical consequence of the acknowledgment of responsibility for the war; the Allies thus gave expression to their common will to prevent another similar catastrophe. It was hoped that, thanks to this disarmament of Germany, the germs of new wars would be destroyed, and that under the aegis of the League of Nations, an institution created in reaction to the horrors of the recent conflict, all States would disarm in turn and establish a reign of universal peace.

What an illusion, to think that such a war could have killed war, and that a decimated humanity would come out of it pacified! What an illusion to think that the disarmament of such a State as Prussianized Germany could be effected by the good-will of the German people as well as the compulsion of the victorious nations, and that 60,000,000 Germans, united in spite of defeat, would resign themselves, after fifty years of imperial intoxication, to be without an army!

GERMANY'S REVOLT AGAINST THE TREATY

From 1919 on we see Germany in full revolt against the treaty. She had been insufficiently crushed in November, 1918, and the Allies, by their long deliberations, in which their fundamental differences had been revealed, had given her time to recover wits, and to rise from the blow which had brought her low. Her intention to revolt was strengthened, as time went on, by various outside influences; by the British Premier, Lloyd George; by the United States, when that nation withdrew from the coalition; by the Italy of Nitti and Giolitti.

If there still exists a state of war between France and Germany, does not the responsibility for this fall on the German Government? From conference to conference, this resistance continued, and, aggravated each year, has constantly brought up for discussion the clauses concerning

reparations, the amount of which has been progressively lowered until Germany has come to a point where she takes pride in not keeping her engagements.

Has Germany not organized politically and economically the bankruptcy of her State currency, the colossal swindle that has caused the mark to fall to a value in the neighborhood of zero? In attempting to avert the disastrous consequences of this national bankruptcy, both European and American financiers forget that, though Germany seems ruined as a State, her real wealth has been concealed, to prevent it from being seized by her creditors, and that she spends recklessly for the rebuilding of her merchant marine, for the reconditioning of her railroads and canals, and for the development of her factories. It has been calculated that in the last three years Germany could have saved about 16,000,000,000 marks, which might have been used to pay reparations.

The debtor refusing to pay the creditor, the latter is obliged to resort to the bailiff and the policeman. In this case, the policeman is the French soldier, to whom Germany can no longer oppose the German soldier, and that is the reason why General von Kuhl cries out against the abuse of force.

General von Kuhl contends that Germany is completely disarmed, and that willingly or by force, under the constant pressure of the Control Commissions, she has conformed to the disarmament clauses of the peace treaty. His arguments all follow the same trend: compulsory military service exists no longer in Germany, consequently the military instruction of young men is no longer possible; the Reichswehr is composed of volunteers enlisted for twelve years; the active forces do not exceed the number determined by the treaty, viz., 100,000 men; the Great General Staff, the war academies in Berlin and Munich, and the officers' and cadets' schools have been dissolved; there remain but four military schools, and so forth.

I have shown the significance that the treaty attached to the military impotence of Germany. The Allies required, and were justified in requiring, the dismissal of the

former German Army, instrument of conquest and oppression, and allowed Germany only *police forces*. Let us remember that word. That is why the treaty abolished the Great General Staff of the war schools and forbade military preparations in educational institutions, in associations of veteran soldiers, in rifle and sports clubs, which are not to have any relations with the military authorities. The precautions taken were abundant, but they could be efficacious only if Germany complied in good faith, rejecting any thought of war.

The Reich, however, did not delay in reorganizing in Berlin a Ministry of War, with numerous officers of the old army, and the hidden General Staff is working with this Ministry hand in hand. As early as 1919 we see the Government retarding demobilization and creating the Reichswehr out of the best elements of the old army. Under the pretext of internal struggles, of insuring internal law and order against the Communists, the effective forces in 1920 were brought to a total of 370,000 men.

After Jan. 10, 1920, the date when the treaty became effective, the Supreme Council, instead of requiring the immediate reduction of the Reichswehr to 100,000 men, committed the weakness of postponing to July 10, 1920, the execution of this clause. But it was only in February, 1921, after formal injunctions and the intervention of the control commissions, that the Reichswehr was brought back to the apparent 100,000 mark.

REICHSWEHR POTENTIAL ARMY

The present organization of the Reichswehr permits of tripling the units comprising the lists of officers, already more numerous than provided for in the treaty. The Reichswehr battalions are distributed throughout Germany, occupying all the barracks destined to become centres of mobilization; all the supply stores have been kept; the former enlistment bureaus have been transformed into *Versorgungstellen* (bureaus for the payment of pensions and so forth) which keeps the lists and military papers of the reserve troops. These troops can thus be easily recalled, and they can equally well undergo periods of instruction as volunteers (*frei Willigen*). The regimental fêtes, the multi-



Keystone

Captain Ehrhardt (at left on the rear seat of the automobile), one of the leaders of the Kapp counter-revolution in Berlin in 1920, who was recently arrested for the part he played at that time

farious patriotic ceremonies, give ample opportunities for assembling all the soldiers of the regimental societies for review.

There are, then, in the Reichswehr, all the elements for the formation of an active army, composed of volunteers and of former soldiers, efficiently organized. General von Kuhl does not hesitate to declare: "Our army is not an army of mercenaries; it is merely the skeleton of an army, destined to form the framework of our national forces." To the Reichswehr barracks used as centres will come, in answer to the call, all the young men of the nation who, though lacking military instruction, have been prepared physically and mentally, in the innumerable German leagues and societies, for a war of revenge.

This army has an armament greater than normal. The number of rifles and machine guns correspond to a force of 200,000 men. Each garrison has a hidden store of arms (*Waffenkammern*), which is replenished each time it is discovered

by the Control Commission. It has been calculated that more than 2,000,000 rifles and 20,000 machine guns are concealed among the population, as well as in military centres. The stock of ammunition is kept more than replete.

ARMED FORCES POSING AS POLICE

In 1919 the Government created the *Sicherheitspolizei*, or Police for Public Safety (familiarly known as the "*Sipo*"), although distinct from the former pre-war police. It is organized militarily in companies, battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions. It has an armament identical with that of the Reichswehr. On several occasions, the Allies demanded the dissolution of this police, which duplicates the work of the municipal police.

In 1920, the Allies permitted the Reich to maintain a police force of a maximum of 150,000 men, among which would be included the former police officers. Circumventing this ordinance, the Reich maintained *in toto* the armed police

(Green Police) of 150,000 men, and reduced her municipal police (Blue Police) to 30,000. The authorities merely changed the former organization's name; it was called Schutzpolizei, or police for protection; the "Sipo" became the "Schupo." Both forces continue to exist side by side, without confusion. The "Schupo" has no official general staff, but it is nevertheless a military organism, systematized, hierarchic, equal in value to the Reichswehr. In fact, both often drill and manoeuvre together.

I shall but mention the Einwohnerwehren, or local militias, which were created in December, 1918, in Bavaria, and spread rapidly throughout the empire. These were dissolved in April, 1920, upon injunctions issued by the Entente, but in reality they merely took other names. Bavaria and Eastern Prussia refused to abide by the decision of the Reich. This organization permitted Germany to keep an armament of 2,000,000 rifles and several thousand machine guns, as well as a large quantity of ammunition.

The armament has been so well scattered that the Control Commissions are unable to find it. It is to be noted that it is the young men who become members of these militias, and who thereby receive military instruction despite the provisions of the treaty.

All these organizations are military and consequently do not escape the vigilance of the Control Commissions, and the injunctions of the allied governments. But there is a secret organization, the so-called Orgesch—which under its disguise as a civilian society, is nevertheless military in character. The Orgesch was founded by Escherich in Bavaria. It has political aims—the re-establishment of the monarchy and of the old German hegemony—but at the same time this organization is pledged to give its aid in preparations for mobilization.

It is true that the Control Commissions have succeeded in causing the old mobilization to disappear, but the Orgesch, with the assistance of the military authorities, has reorganized under other names, and constitutes today a far-reaching reactionary league, which is not content with preparing the return of the monarchy, but

which fosters the spirit of revenge and war, and assists in the reconstitution of the imperial army. Independent corps have been formed, supposedly to guard the frontiers, in reality for political ends. Such, for instance, is the Ehrhardt Brigade. These corps still exist.

ALLIED CONTROL INDISPENSABLE

There is, then, no doubt that the Reich, in case of war, would have at its disposal considerable effective forces armed with rifles, machine guns, and light cannon, and could also count on the mobilization of reserve troops. But men, though armed, do not suffice. General von Kuhl is right in saying that if the present German army were to appear on the battleline, with the advantage of an orderly mobilization as in 1914, it would be unable to wage war, owing to the lack of the heavy material which the last war proved to have decisive power. It is certain that the Control Commissions, in spite of all the obstacles placed in their way, have succeeded in destroying the heavy artillery, the war aviation forces, the poison gas apparatus, the tanks, and so forth, and that the supervision they exercise over the factories, prevents to some extent, for the time being, the manufacture of armaments.

But the question is this: If the Control Commissions were to be removed, would not the German war factory be transformed and refitted with machines and tools, the greater part of which have been retained?

It might be answered that the war material necessary for a powerful army cannot be restored overnight, and that it will always be easy to ascertain whether the German factories are taking up again their manufacture of munitions of war. But when Germany escapes the control of the Allies, she will resume the manufacture of great quantities of war material. A few months will suffice to produce from her factories a complete, perfected armament, particularly in the field of aviation, to which General von Kuhl very justly attributes a leading part at the beginning of a war. The transformation of commercial airplanes could be made almost overnight, and the construction of

successive series of powerful war planes would undoubtedly be very rapid.

We do not doubt that this reorganization of the German war factory has been very carefully prepared in all its details at the Ministry of War in Berlin. Taking advantage both of the tension between England and France, and of the forced inactivity of the Control Commissions, some factories are already working for the army. It is in the region included between Magdeburg, Berlin, Dresden, Plauen (Saxony and Thuringia) that the manufacture of war material is being accomplished. It must not be forgotten that the factories in the Ruhr comprise but a third of the total metallurgical industry of Germany. The Paris Temps, on July 27, called the attention of the Control Commissions to the new factories of Krupp, established in this region. It must be the same in Silesia.

Article 168 of the treaty specifies that the manufacture of arms, munitions, and war material, *of whatever nature*, shall be permitted only in factories, the location of which shall be communicated to the allied and associated powers for their approval. This article has remained a dead letter,



COLONEL RUDOLF VON XYLANDER
Founder and leader of the Popular Party of the Right in Bavaria, a reactionary, monarchist and anti-Jewish party with much the same ideas as the Hitlerites

the Reich having obstinately refused to designate the factories under this head. The misunderstanding among the Allies as to the strict application of the clauses of the treaty leaves the Germans free to violate them.

It is clear, however, in spite of all the reasons which allow us to be certain that Germany is maintaining an army exceeding the forces stated by the treaty, and that the Berlin War Ministry is engrossed in preparing the mobilization and the necessary armament, that at the present time Germany is unable to initiate an armed struggle with the Allies established on the Ruhr, and particularly with the French Army. *But is it not precisely because the French Army has remained strong enough to have the treaty of peace respected and executed that Germany is still militarily impotent, as the Allies required?*

FRENCH ARMY ENFORCING TREATY

Articles 428 and 429 of the treaty specified that as guarantees of execution the Rhineland territories should be militarily occupied for a period of fifteen years, distributed as follows: Cologne region, five years; Coblenz region, ten years; Mayence (Mainz) and Palatinate region, fifteen years.

The Americans, who occupied the Coblenz region, have withdrawn, emphasizing their policy of abstinence from European affairs. The French troops have taken their place. The English have recently shown a hesitating desire to withdraw also. But I doubt if they will give way to this fit of bad humor. Cologne, bridgehead of the Rhine, is too important a point to abandon! They will merely reduce further their already diminished forces. The French army therefore carries virtually the whole burden. This army, with the Belgian division, is the true guarantor for the treaty.

Article 430 provides that if Germany has not kept her pledge after the fifteen years' occupation this occupation shall be prolonged. Let me repeat that reparations and disarmament are interlocking in the treaty, alike in its obligations and in its guarantees. And France, even though she

stands alone in maintaining these obligations and guarantees, is obliged, for her own safety, to prolong the military occupation by her own means.

The objection has been raised that France has more than 100,000 men on the Rhine. It is true that France has had to increase her forces for the occupation of the Ruhr, as the result of Germany's failure to meet her obligations. But the forces of the Army of the Rhine are a consequence of the fears caused by Germany's lack of good faith and by her military preparations, as much as to secure fulfillment of the treaty.

France, whatever may be said, has considerably reduced her military organization. She has adopted the eighteen months' service measure as a compromise for the one-year service project, which she could not adopt for the time being. Her actual contingent does not exceed 225,000 men, and will gradually decrease in coming years. This insufficiency of recruitment will be compensated for by the increase in the number of the re-enlisted. In point of fact, France intends to organize an army into which young recruits can be quickly mustered, and where they will receive military instruction in the shortest possible time.

The formation of such an army, which will recall, to a certain extent, *l'armée de métier*, or professional army, is a consequence of the changes in the methods of fighting brought about by the last war. The law of war material supersedes today the law of numbers. The standing army of peace becomes a protective army, composed for the greater part of experts on war material, and possessing the necessary formations to take in the mobilized nation and absorb all its human, industrial and economic resources.

REDUCTION TO 32 DIVISIONS

The new military laws before Parliament reduce the army to thirty-two divisions, including a certain number of divisions (called "mixed") which are partly composed of native Algerian troops. France has found in her colonial subjects excellent and faithful soldiers who, in fighting for

her on European battlefields and in the colonies, have demonstrated that spirit of patriotism and humanity which has always accompanied the work of French colonization.

The Germans waxed indignant and appealed to the "conscience of the world" for a vote of censure on the use of colonial troops for the occupation of territory belonging to civilized European nations. One might ask the Germans, who in their occupation of invaded territories have made no concealment of their contempt for all laws, alike human and divine, and who were the objects of bitter attack by Lloyd George some time ago upon this ground, whether they themselves would have failed to use colonial troops, and even black troops, had they been able to recruit them in their colonies and transport them. It is true that this would have occasioned some difficulty, for the African blacks know but too well the characteristics of the German colonial galley slave system.

The whole question is this: Is Germany, condemned as she is to military disarmament, willing to disarm also morally, as the sole guarantee of lasting and fruitful peace? Thus far there is nothing to prove it. Not only has Germany, in the last four years, sought to evade the reparation and disarmament clauses, but she has fostered and fosters among her people a warlike and revengeful spirit. In German schools, universities, leagues, societies of all kinds, are not the same warlike hymns sung as in 1914? The same men, the same officials, the Prussian Junkers, are at the head of Germany, for the Socialist Democratic party, after the revolution caused by the defeat, was not able to furnish the men to carry on the administration of the Government. It is advantageous for an industrial oligarchy which has hoarded wealth at the expense of the middle and lower classes, to maintain this mood of hatred. But revolt is brewing!

We Frenchmen demand only one thing, but we demand it resolutely: That in accordance with the treaty of peace imposed by the Allies, Germany disarm and cease to be a danger both to France and to Europe.

THE CURSE OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY

By E. D. MOREL

Member of the British House of Commons and a leading authority on foreign affairs from the Labor standpoint

The myth that assigns all the evil of the war to Germany
—Terrible sufferings inflicted upon innocent people
—Europe under the blight of an infamous treaty

WHEN the war broke out in 1914 the ruling classes of each contending group of nations—"autocratic" and "democratic," to use a hackneyed phraseology which had as little of real significance in the world then as it has today—realizing somewhat late that their own future was at stake, came to the conclusion that propaganda must be resorted to on a scale never before dreamed of. At this game the Germans with their abysmal ignorance of international psychology were the clumsiest, and the British a long way the best. Moreover, the element of real surprise with which the British people suddenly found themselves at war at once favored and rendered imperative British official efforts in this direction if the Government were to keep its hold over the nation and bring America into the war. The extent to which the public mind can be permanently distorted, and precedent history can be to all intents and purposes wiped clean off the mental retina of a people by the modern mechanism of war propaganda in which the newspaper plays but a fractional part, was the discovery of the war. Nowhere was it put to such full use as in Great Britain, although from the moment America entered the war I am not sure that American mass-psychology did not present even more plastic material for manipulation.

However that may be, everything was forgotten. History might have begun in August, 1914. For example, the essentially militaristic tendency of French policy throughout the ages, and the essentially non-militaristic character of the Ger-

man; in the one case warlike sentiment, a natural inheritance, in the other the product of accidental circumstance—the parts were completely transposed. Again, the portentous cloud of Slav expansionism, west, south and east, which had haunted generations of western statesmen, might never have been. The Thirty Years' War, the wars of Bonaparte, the wars of Napoleon III., the centuries of Franco-British rivalry, the forty years' peace of the Kaiser's reign, despite imperial garrulity, while Britain was fighting the Boers, the Burmese, the Afghans, the Egyptians, and countless tribes in West and East Africa, while the French were seizing Tunis, Morocco, Madagascar and Tonkin and the Italians Tripoli, after failing to grab Abyssinia; the interminable strife centring round the "balance of power"—the whole phantasmagoria of war amid which Europe had lived for generations, faded out of public memory as by the enchanter's wand. One picture filled the entire canvas—a Germany deliberately and cynically plotting for half a century a diabolical assault upon peaceful neighbors whose record during that period had, in point of fact, been one of continuous strife, and whose military preparations, also in point of fact, exceeded those of the arch-villain in Berlin. (See the full and authorized particulars of the armaments of the two contending groups in my book, "Military Preparation for the Great War.") The war became almost at once a "crusade for right." It assumed, beneath the influence of the "great discovery," the symbolism of a stupendous interlocking in mortal

combat of the material and spiritual powers of light and darkness. No liquidation of venerable quarrels this, no explosion of long pent-up forces, no natural outcome of enormous and ever accumulating armaments, but a final wrestling bout for the soul of the world between the forces of good and evil incarnate in mankind. Under the spell of this enchantment the Enemy became, as it were, dehumanized. His men and women ceased to possess human attributes. Even his children were devil's spawn. Hatred was collective; in a measure so intensified as to be impersonal. The civilian mind—as distinct from the military which, in touch with realities, exhibited surprising powers of resistance—became as receptive to the suggestion of witchcraft in a nation as the same mind in the Middle Ages had responded to the same suggestion in the individual.

EUROPE TOTTERING TO DAMNATION

These facts constitute the true explanation of the disease which afflicts the public conscience today and under whose propelling impulse Europe totters to damnation. It was in that perverted atmosphere that the war was fought. It was due to that perverted atmosphere that the politicians who had their share of responsibility for evoking the catastrophe refused to examine the possibilities of negotiating a peace, and insisted upon persisting in a massacre which might have been concluded, without loss of honor on either side, at almost any period from the Spring of 1917 onward. It was in that atmosphere that the victorious Governments congregated at Versailles and that President Wilson came to Paris—making the mistake of his life. And there it was that the true moral struggle—which the war itself never was—began; between the old traditions and the new hope which President Wilson personified in the spirit of millions all over the world.

Only three of the conquering States really counted in the settlement—Great Britain, the United States and France. The Japanese, provided they could emerge as dominant controllers of China's fate, were indifferent to the European solutions. Italy pulled a light oar in the allied

craft. France had this in common with Japan and Italy that her spokesman, Clemenceau, indulged in no "high-falutin" about moral purposes. His objects were brutally frank and brutally stated without cant or pharisaism, and he spoke the mind of the French ruling classes, though not of a large proportion of French labor. It was otherwise with the English-speaking powers, and it is here that we come to close quarters with the tragedy of which Versailles was to be the scene and humanity the victim.

All through the war the chief exponents of British and American war policy had found it necessary, in order to maintain the enthusiasm of the nation—at least this was the case in Great Britain—to portray the potential military victory for which their peoples strove as an instrument for world betterment, for the establishment of a new international order. The American public, being unversed in European diplomacy, disingenuously imagined that the substitution of monarchies by republics would in itself insure that end. The British public required more tangible assurances. No one in Great Britain will be bold enough to deny that the great mass of working-class opinion remained steadfast in support of the war (without which support the refusal to negotiate and the consequent prolongation of the war would have been out of the question) because it really believed what it had been repeatedly told, namely, that by victory, and by victory alone, could such a peace as it undoubtedly desired be secured. "What will have to be guaranteed first of all by the conditions of peace?" Mr. Lloyd George asked in a speech on April 6, 1917, and answering his own query, added: "That they should be formed upon such an equitable basis that nations will not wish to disturb them." Such a peace British labor had been assured again and again was unattainable unless the enemy were not merely beaten but militarily annihilated, so as to be placed in the position of being unable to bargain and thus rendered powerless to obstruct the far-sighted and benevolent purposes of the allied Governments.

In order to place their motives beyond suspicion, the chief national spokesmen

of Great Britain and the United States were emphatic in disclaiming any intention of inflicting permanent damage upon the German *people*. It is unnecessary to remind American readers of President Wilson's declarations to that effect, but Mr. Lloyd George's are, perhaps, not so widely known in America and a few should be cited from a very extensive collection:

We are not fighting the German people. * * * It will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant and artisan when the military caste is overthrown. (Sept. 20, 1914.)

As the Lord liveth we had entered into no conspiracy against Germany. We were not envying her territory. We sought not a yard of her colonies. We are in this war from motives of purest chivalry to defend the weak. (Nov. 16, 1914.)

I know it is part of the German policy to represent our intervention as a calculated move of selfish craft to capture the trade and shipping of a dangerous rival and to annex her colonies. It is not true. (Feb. 27, 1915.)

We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. (Feb. 12, 1917.)

A great German newspaper said the other day that the Germans were fighting for the freedom and independence of their fatherland. It was never true. It is less true today than it ever was. The freer Germany is, the more independent Germany is, the better we like it. * * * We can make peace with a free Germany. (July 22, 1917.)

Germany has occupied a great position in the world. It is not our wish or intention to question or to destroy that position, but rather to turn her aside from hopes and schemes of military domination, and to see her devote all her strength to the great beneficiary tasks of the world. * * * Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic Constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that in her the old spirit of military domination had, indeed, died in the war, and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad democratic peace with her. (Jan. 18, 1918.)

The last speech is interesting for two reasons. First, because it was delivered to the Trades Union Congress at a moment when serious doubts were prevalent in the British labor world as to the sincerity of the Government's professions, and, second, because it links up naturally with the efforts made in the Autumn of that year (1918) by President Wilson to induce the Germans to establish a "really democratic Constitution," and to get rid of the Kaiser, even as a constitutional mon-

arch. How successful those efforts were is beyond dispute. The profound change in the German Constitution carried out by Prince Max of Baden in September, 1918, must rank as the most far-reaching event in a nation's history ever accomplished with anything like such amazing celerity. It was completed by the revolution entailing the abdication of the Kaiser and the expulsion of the Hohenzollerns. Mr. Lloyd George's and President Wilson's desire had been fulfilled to the letter. It was a Germany constitutionally more democratic in some respects than either Great Britain or the United States which awaited the fructification of the reiterated pledge of their spokesmen.

Those who regard what took place at Versailles, what has taken place since, and what is taking place now, not only as a great wrong against the German people, but as a moral throwback from which all nations must ultimately suffer, and a betrayal of mankind and in particular a betrayal of the British and American youth who sacrificed life and limb and underwent unspeakable torment for what a very large proportion of them believed to be a struggle for the triumph of right in the world, are not disposed to mince their words in this matter. Events have, also, so arrestingly justified us and fulfilled our indictment and our prophecies that we have long ceased to be the accused. We have become the accusers. Consider the bare facts.

THE HORRORS OF THE BLOCKADE

For eight months the German people, exhausted by a prolonged struggle against overwhelming odds, resisted the conditions sought to be imposed upon them, conditions unparalleled in either medieval or modern history. They were eventually forced to submit by the blockade, which was maintained in being and, indeed, drawn tighter during those eight terrible months. To her honor be it said, America was against this form of pressure, though she allowed herself to be overruled. How many innocent people this infernal instrument destroyed in a Europe already verging upon a state of economic collapse it would be impossible to compute; for in blockading Germany the Allies necessarily

blockaded the whole of Europe. Prince Max of Baden, whose authority and integrity few will question, estimates the deaths in Germany alone at 100,000, mostly women and children. The results in Austria, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and Russia were almost as appalling. "To those who have had the opportunity of studying Germany from the inside," wrote Captain Roddy, one of the fourteen British officers sent to investigate the situation in Germany early in 1919, "the policy of continuing the starvation of that country must appear not only senseless, but utterly hurtful to ourselves." The indignation of British officers and soldiers in the Cologne area was expressed in such vigorous terms as seriously to discompose the Coalition Government. British soldiers, to their eternal credit, could not be restrained from sharing their rations with their late enemies. "People in Vienna," wrote Colonel Summerhayes, chief of the British mission to prisoners of war in Austria, "are dying like flies." The mortality was so enormous that no wood was left for coffins. The people had to be buried in mass graves—ten bodies one over the other with a layer of earth and lime between them. The blockade allowed of no linen to be used as grave clothes; the dead were wrapped in paper. The Swiss Red Cross report reads like Dante's *Inferno*.

And what was the document which the newly constituted German Republic was compelled under the torturing weight of this vast mechanism of starvation eventually to sign? How many Americans have read it? It is a tome, rather than a treaty. "Treaty," indeed, it is not, for a "treaty" postulates two parties in negotiation, contradictory discussion, debate. There was nothing of that kind. This volume of 453 pages is an elaborate sentence of political disruption and economic strangulation pronounced upon a whole people on the ground that the Government and the régime it had discarded in accordance with American and British oburgations were solely responsible for the outbreak of war. Even if that had been true, what then? Read Mr. Lloyd George's speeches! "After close examination experts will realize that Germany will

never escape, even should she attempt to do so, from this terrible network." Thus spoke the *Paris Figaro*. But how many Americans realized, or do today, the completeness of the meshes? Within them Germany has been suffocating for four years. But, as was inevitable, the victorious States now find themselves caught up in the tangle.

THE UGLY WORD "INDEMNITIES"

Note at the outset the flagrant breach of faith. The pre-armistice terms which Germany accepted and on the strength of which she laid down her arms involved her in liability for the damage inflicted by her armed forces by land and sea. But at Versailles, owing to Mr. Lloyd George's pledge to the British electorate in his famous Bristol speech when he declared that Germany would be made to pay the cost of the war, war pensions were added to the damages! This ingenious device placed Germany at the mercy of her creditors virtually for all time. Hardly less subtle was the elimination of the ugly word "indemnities" by substituting therefor the sentimentally attractive term "reparations." But care was taken not to stipulate in the treaty itself the total sum of which Germany was to be mulcted. An unspecified total indebtedness was held over her head, which she would be called upon in due time to honor. Meantime, the clauses dealing with the Rhine occupation were so drawn as to insure an occupation in perpetuity, since it was to continue until Germany had fulfilled all her obligations in regard to "reparations," which it was from the first intended—no rational human being can now entertain any doubts on the subject—should be of such a character as to render fulfillment beyond the bounds of possibility. The total cost of the armies of occupation was to be additionally placed upon Germany's shoulders.

The key to a full understanding of the treaty is to be sought by considering the territorial, economic and financial clauses not as separate parts, but as a whole. It is only thus that the purpose of the immense equivocation which underlies it becomes apparent. For, on the one hand, the treaty holds out to the victorious powers the expectation of streams of gold flowing

endlessly from a Germany working for decades as the serf of the "Entente"; *on the other, it deliberately decrees the progressive impoverishment of the German people.* The "expectation" was conformable to the pledge given to their people by the rulers of Britain and France. The realities which opportunist British statesmen overlooked in the excitement of an electoral triumph based upon this "expectation" and in the satisfaction experienced from the destruction of the German navy and mercantile marine and the seizure of the German colonies under the camouflage of mandates, corresponded, as they are now beginning to find out, with the implacable resolve of France's rulers. An Anglo-French breach was woven in the very texture of the treaty. The permanent British interest was, and must be, the revival of the European markets which necessitated, and necessitates, the recovery of Germany. I stated publicly when the "treaty" was published that in signing it Great Britain had signed her "industrial suicide." The permanent interest of France, as imagined by the politicians of the National Bloc, who have ruled her since 1911, was, and is, a Germany forever disarmed, helpless, economically crippled, and, as far as possible, politically dismembered. This ultimate purpose is crystal clear throughout the treaty.

The French occupation of the Sarre Valley was meant in French eyes to be, and has become, a virtual annexation.

The unilateral disarmament of Germany and the demilitarization of the right bank of the Rhine were part of the preparations to insure future French military hegemony in Europe.

The territorial mutilations, of which the rape of West and East Prussia and of Memel are the most flagrant examples, were part of the scheme of permanent political disruption, of which the severance of the Rhineland is the spinal column.

PURPOSE OF "REPARATIONS" CLAUSES

The "reparations" clauses were so drawn as to leave future invasions of German soil for default a matter of legal dispute in which France would naturally maintain that her interpretation was the right one. She has, in the upshot, been

saved even that trouble, for she occupied the keys of the Ruhr in March, 1921, with the blessing of the British Coalition Government, thus putting the British Government out of court in challenging, later on, the fuller invasion of the Ruhr Valley, of which the occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort (the aforesaid keys) two years before was the well considered first step. No such "treaty" for the destruction of a State and people has ever before been devised by the mind of man. How President Wilson ever brought himself to be a party to such abject surrender of all the principles he professed in language which won him the passionate loyalty of millions all over the world is one of those human mysteries which can never be satisfactorily solved. That he should subsequently have contended in public that it did not violate, I will not say merely right and justice but the most elementary doctrines of Christian ethics, must be imputed to physical and mental affliction. America, rightly enough, although her motives were doubtless mixed, repudiated the transaction under the influence of which Europe is rushing to the abyss.

There is no prospect of salvation for Europe until and unless the public conscience of the world can throw off the miasma of a propaganda so amazing in its effects as to have exceeded the ends in view, creating, as did Frankenstein, a monster that has passed out of the control of the Governments that set it on foot, and is now utilized chiefly by economic and financial groups for ends destructive of European civilization. No more striking exhibition of mental disease among men otherwise sane is the persistence of such legends as that Germany has made no reparation; that France, never more prosperous, with industry and agriculture booming, is groaning under the burden of repairing her devastated areas; that France, with the largest army in the world, with the greatest aerial fleet in the world, with a conscripted African population of 20,000,000 to draw upon, having concluded military treaties with Belgium and Poland, with military instructors rapidly building up the armies of the "Little Entente"—is in need of "security." As to German "reparations," a careful calculation, taking into account payments in cash,

surrendered property, and costs of treaty execution (including the upkeep of the armies of occupation), and eliminating every item which a hostile critic might challenge, will place the minimum reparations paid by Germany at 1,585,000,000 pounds sterling, more than seven times the indemnity paid by France in 1870, and paid in this case, be it noted, by a country deprived under the treaty and subsequent "sanctions" of the great bulk of the raw material which gave it life, of one-third its agricultural land, of some 8,000,000 of its population, of its foreign credit, its colonies, its ships and its State property, and even of the private property of its nationals in the Entente countries and their colonies.

PRESENT SUFFERING IN GERMANY

As I write these lines, a long letter comes to hand from an American friend, a distinguished representative of the city in which he lives, and a "hundred per cent." American, who is now traveling in Germany, and this is part of what he has to say:

It is now apparent to all that France's wish for the war was to gain what she *has* gained. * * * The word "reparations" is, of course, a joke: annexation and domination of Germany is so obviously France's aim. The Ruhr, I need not speak of. It is abominable, unbelievable for 1923. * * * It is a sickening spectacle to be here and hear officials, one's own, too [American officials in Berlin], giving you such facts as these: "Fifteen to sixteen million Germans in need desperately of help. In many wards more than half the children are tubercular; 30 per cent. of the tuberculosis patients have to share beds with others. There is such a shortage of linen that in some hospitals for children three children share one bed; also some hospitals wait for a dry day and then wash hurriedly, using the linen the same night." * * * While I was in Berlin during the week eleven people committed suicide, four of them physicians. The prevailing feeling in Germany is one of dazed wonder that such injustices can be allowed after all the talk of a war of "humanity," "self-determination," "civilization" and "human rights." Every one seems exhausted, not only physically but mentally. * * * Nine years of misery. But what a history! Swept over by Louis XIV.; swept over by Napoleon; now again the victim of French imperialism. Some time ago I saw the "Gottterdammerung," the last opera in Wagner's Ring, in an American city. In this epic one sees the Rhine. When I realize that

this German river is now on both sides occupied by the French invaders, I wonder what "our boys" died for.

My diary tells me that one day in March, 1917, I lunched with the late Lord Courtney of Penwith, that most fearless and upright of men, and his wife. The guests were three in number: Lord Morley, General Smuts and myself. Three months had passed since President Wilson, on the one hand, and the enemy, on the other, had indicated an avenue to the cessation of the slaughter. The allied Governments had refused to explore it. Talk swung between the awful present and the speculative future. Morley's views, like Courtney's and my own, were unorthodox. We all three, I think, held pretty well the same opinion, e. g., that neither allied dignity, honor, nor security need be compromised by a round-table conference, assuming the avowed aims of the allied Governments to bear some analogy to their real objects. We remarked on the absence of any appeal to sanity directly made to the public itself by a statesman of repute. Morley wondered if he could get a hearing at Blackburn (which he had represented in the House of Commons), commenting rather pathetically on his years. I remarked that a strong man in executive power, disinterested and with imagination, might still save Europe from ruin. I was thinking of President Wilson, to whom I had ventured to appeal in 1915 through the columns of *The New York Times* (July 4, 1915), and whose speech to the Senate two months earlier than the conversation I now record, seemed to me then (as it does now) to have been the embodiment of human wisdom, expressing, in language of superlative penetration, much of what we of the Union of Democratic Control had been urging since the war broke out. General Smuts said: "Events are too much for any man. The thing is too big. It has become uncontrollable." I commented: "That means that statesmanship has abdicated." Has statesmanship abdicated once more? Is there no voice sufficiently powerful in Britain or in America to diagnose the disease from which Europe is sick unto death, the disease bred of a great moral iniquity, the so-called Treaty of Versailles, which eats its way like a cancer in the tissues of the European body?



The Rhine at Duisburg-Ruhrort, the largest inland harbor in Germany

THE LEGAL CASE AGAINST THE RUHR OCCUPATION

By WILLIAM C. DREHER

For many years in Germany as a United States consular representative
and newspaper correspondent

The French Premier's distortion of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty in justification of his seizure of guarantees—Disregard of rules of interpretation and of principles of international law

WHEN Great Britain, in the Curzon note of Aug. 11, contested the legality of France's Ruhr venture it opened a new chapter in that unhappy episode of post-war history. Quite apart from the new footing upon which that act placed Anglo-French relations, it has forced men everywhere to examine more carefully than hitherto the legal aspects of M. Poincaré's policy. The sharp attack upon the legality of the occupation was manifestly the most important thing in the whole note.

As the legal basis for his course, M. Poincaré alleges chiefly Sections 17 and 18 of Annex II. of Part VIII. of the Versailles Treaty, which read as follows:

17. In case of default by Germany in the per-

formance of any obligation under this part of the treaty, the commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18. The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

M. Poincaré also defends his course by citing Paragraph 248, which declares reparation payments to constitute "the first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its con-

stituent States." His chief legal pillar he finds in Paragraph 18. He insists that the word "respective" gives him a warrant for independent action by France and her group, and he construes the clause in which that word occurs as legalizing the occupation of territory not specifically mentioned in the treaty. So confident is he that the Ruhr occupation is fully warranted by this paragraph that he boldly asserts in his reply to the British note: "From every point of view the legality of our action defies criticism." It will therefore now be in order to examine his argument "from every point of view" so far as this is possible here. It is a good old rule of law that "the intent of the parties is chiefly to be sought"—an end that may be attained here by looking at the treaty itself as a whole and also at the circumstances under which it was adopted.

It is known that the word "respective" was used in Paragraph 18 at the instigation of the French—probably in deliberate preparation for some such interpretation as M. Poincaré now places upon that word. It may be admitted, indeed, that the word could be used in the distributive sense that he insists upon, but that is not its necessary meaning. It is often used in a general way in referring to a group of things already mentioned, as if the treaty-makers here merely meant to say "the aforesaid Governments," which had been mentioned in Paragraph 17. In numerous places elsewhere in the treaty the authors were able to make it perfectly clear when they were writing about the powers individually, and when they referred to them as a whole; and they certainly would never have placed such momentous weight upon the ambiguous word "respective" as M. Poincaré finds there. But quite apart from that consideration, the entire reparations section of the treaty is based upon the idea of joint and united action of the powers through the Reparation Commission. It is stipulated, for example, that all votes upon questions under this part must be unanimous and that even "abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion." Now, after unanimity of decision has been stipulated with such insistence, does it not appear absurd for M. Poincaré to

claim that unanimity of action is a matter of indifference? Do statesmen write treaties in this hit-or-miss fashion? Moreover, the practical results to which M. Poincaré's interpretation might naturally lead illustrate its sheer grotesqueness. If France and Belgium may under the treaty act independently in occupying the Ruhr, so might Great Britain by the same token throw a blockade around Germany's seaports. The result in securing reparations would then be even less satisfactory than the Ruhr occupation has proved. Perfectly logical and legal action, in the Poincaré's sense, would thus defeat the recovery of reparations altogether.

UNWARRANTED INTERPRETATION

Coming now to the French Premier's deduction of the right of additional occupation from Paragraph 18, it can easily be shown that he has wrested language in an even more glaring manner. In construing that right from the clause beginning with the words "such other measures" he has set up a style—it cannot be called a rule—of construction that finds no support from the courts of civilized States. In such countries it was found ages ago that the interpretation of legal instruments cannot be left to individual whim. Long ago they adopted strict rules of construction against their Poincarés. Hence court decisions in all States far removed above barbarism are protected by fixed principles for interpreting the laws. Some of those rules read as if they had been drawn with the special purpose of heading off just such interpretations as M. Poincaré has put upon Paragraph 18. In the article on "Interpretation" in the American and English Encyclopedia of Law (Sec. Ed., Vol. XVII., pp. 4, 6, 7) it is laid down that—

the intention must be determined by a consideration of the whole instrument rather than any particular clause, the theory being that the parties presumably had the same general purpose and object in view in all parts of the instrument, and consequently, if some of the stipulations are more obscure than others, or one part is seemingly inconsistent with another, the main purpose and object as collected from the whole instrument may be so clear and distinct as to throw light upon such obscure and inconsistent parts.



International

French troops, including colored men, in the Ruhr district

The next rule is a corollary to the above:

What may be considered another aspect of the rule that the instrument shall be considered as a whole is the requirement that every clause and even every word shall be given effect, if this is in any way possible, and no part shall be rejected unless absolutely repugnant to the general intent. Consequently, such a general construction must if possible be adopted that every part shall be in harmony therewith.

Another exceedingly important principle is the so-called *ejusdem generis* rule, which is defined as follows: "General words following words of a more particular character are regarded as limited in their meaning by the former."

With these rules before us, let us see how M. Poincaré's reading of Paragraph 18 harmonizes with them. In the first place, has he considered the treaty as a whole and sought "the main purpose and object as collected from the whole instrument"—in other words, "such a general construction * * * that every part shall be in harmony therewith"? Has he taken care that

"every clause and even very word shall be given effect"? Manifestly not, for his reading of that paragraph flatly contradicts and annuls the only paragraph of the treaty that specifies and delimits the territory to be occupied by the allied armies. That paragraph reads thus:

428. As a guarantee for the execution of the present treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by the allied and associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

This paragraph is perfectly clear. It leaves no doubt whatever as to the intentions of the treaty makers. Placing it alongside Paragraph 18, we see at a glance that the treaty can be interpreted as a whole and as in harmony with itself only by deciding that Paragraph 428 shall prevail as against Paragraph 18. The utmost that can be said in favor of M. Poincaré's contention is that Paragraph 18 is one of those "stipulations more obscure than others, or seemingly inconsistent with

another"; but it only becomes inconsistent when his reading is allowed. On the other hand it remains perfectly in harmony with Paragraph 428 if we rule out his reading. In other words, he reads into Paragraph 18 a meaning wholly at variance with the "intention determined by a consideration of the whole instrument." Paragraph 18 has a more or less vague general wording, and M. Poincaré can only wring his interpretation out of it by a process of deduction, whereas Paragraph 428 is as definite and clear-cut as language can be made. His interpretation of Paragraph 18 utterly and completely annuls Paragraph 428 and forces the treaty into inconsistency with itself; rule it out and the harmony of the instrument remains undisturbed.

TERRITORIAL OCCUPATION

Futhermore, the whole of Part XIV. of the Treaty, under the caption of "Guarantees," is devoted to the subject of territorial occupation, and it disposes of the matter in a way that leaves no room whatever for M. Poincaré's contention. It lays down the three stages for the evacuation of occupied territory in proportion to the progressive fulfillment of the treaty by Germany. It also provides for the re-occupation of territory once evacuated, in case of later default by Germany—all these details without one hint of a possible extension of the occupation to new territory. Now, would it not have been palpably absurd as a mere achievement in the art of expressing thought in written words for the treatymakers to go into all these details, to circumscribe their scope of action in this way, if they intended to put into Paragraph 18 the right to occupy other German territory?

It should also be emphasized in this connection that France and Belgium, in setting up a claim for additional guarantees from Germany, distinctly placed themselves outside the treaty. Its authors manifestly meant, when they set apart that entire Part XIV. and devoted it formally to "Guarantees," to deal with that subject exhaustively within those limits; and it is clear that when they dismissed that subject they had said everything about it that they regarded as called for. Now,

for M. Poincaré to claim that they took up the subject of occupations in another part of the treaty without even the slightest hint indicating that they had this subject again under consideration and then and there wrote down stipulations in conflict with Paragraph 428 is to accuse its authors of a peculiar capacity for bungling stupidity in the art of drawing legal documents. What ineptitude in them to conceal in a general clause such a momentous provision as the right to occupy all German territory! To write thus is psychologically impossible among men of even average intelligence. Manifestly the authors, if they had intended to claim the right to occupy all German territory, would have made that right stand forth conspicuously and indubitably. What could be their motive in resorting to furtive tricks of expression to conceal their meaning?

It can be shown by two considerations that the treatymakers regarded Paragraph 428 as their last word on occupations, that it should lay down the utmost limits of territory to be held by them. This is manifest from the precise and unqualified language used. If further occupations had been contemplated they would inevitably have toned down Paragraph 428 with some modifying words. Again, the French version makes it even more evident than the English that the Rhine was to be the border-line of occupied territory, and hence that the territory to the west was to be the only and sufficient guarantee. The paragraph begins thus in French, "*A titre de garantie*," whereas our version is: "As a guarantee." The meaning of the French word is, "By way of guarantee" or "in the nature of guarantee"—terms which sufficiently indicate that no further occupations were contemplated.

The most important rule of interpretation remains to be considered and applied to M. Poincaré's reading of Paragraph 18—the rule of *ejusdem generis* (literally "of the same kind"). This very old rule is well known to our courts and lawyers; decisions under it are frequent both in America and England, presumably also in France. The "*Corpus Juris*," edited by Dr. William Mack and Dr. William Ben-



A German locomotive manned and guarded by French troops in the Ruhr district

jamin Hale and published by the American Law Book Company in 1920, cites more than one hundred decisions under it made by Federal and State courts. This work defines the rule thus:

A well-known maxim of construction to aid in ascertaining the meaning of a statute or other written instrument, the doctrine being that, where an enumeration of specific things is followed by some more general word or phrase, such general word or phrase is to be held to refer to things of the same kind.

The theory of the rule is that when a legal instrument, after laying down a stipulation, adds illustrations of its application, these latter have a guiding and binding character; that they fix a category in which all non-enumerated particulars must naturally fall as belonging there. This interpretation of the rule harmonizes perfectly with various judicial definitions preserved in the law books.

POINCARÉ'S STRANGE LOGIC

But M. Poincaré disregards the rule and thereby creates a grouping which reads as if made by a humorist. According to him the punitive measures of Paragraph 18 form a group like this: economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and

the occupation of every part of German territory. What a mess that makes of logic, in which M. Poincaré is usually regarded as particularly strong. Why mention such petty matters as financial and economic penalties at all if unlimited right of occupation is stipulated in Paragraph 18? Would not that vast right of punishment render all minor forms unnecessary and even ridiculous? Were not the "Big Four" doing a most foolish thing in working and wrangling for months in 1919 over the 440 paragraphs of the treaty, if they meant unlimited occupation in Paragraph 18? M. Poincaré makes the treaty-makers look like so many near-idiots. Perhaps that is one of the reasons for Clemenceau's objections to the occupation, as well as his general disapproval of the present Premier of France. The "Tiger" remarked to an English writer since his retirement to private life: "There are only two blunders in nature. One is the appendix in the human body, the other is Poincaré."

The reader may demur to the reading above, "every part of German territory," whereas the French have occupied only the Ruhr. But the objection is not well taken, for the treaty nowhere mentions the Ruhr

and thus leaves its status under the treaty precisely the same as that of all other German territory. If, therefore, M. Poincaré is legally entitled to go to the Ruhr, he is equally entitled to go to Berlin or even to Königsberg. Such is the grotesque result to which his logic leads.

In his rejoinder to the British note, M. Poincaré had, of course, an easy triumph in showing the inconsistency of Great Britain in having under Lloyd George joined in the allied threats to occupy additional German territory, whereas the Baldwin Government attacks the legality of the whole Ruhr venture. There he scores as a skilled dialectician, and the stroke is not successfully parried by Curzon's answer that England was not proposing new occupations as authorized by the treaty, but as measures outside of it—as war measures. Great Britain, accordingly, was ready to occupy and call it, with brutal honesty, war; M. Poincaré has occupied and calls it peace. But all this is only bandying words, and has no relation to the legalities involved.

If we now look at M. Poincaré's reading of Paragraph 18 from a viewpoint outside the treaty itself, the absurdity of his contention becomes still more flagrant. The French Commissioners to the Peace Conference made at least two efforts to put explicitly into the treaty a provision for occupying the Ruhr, but they were overruled in both instances. The evidence for this statement will be found on page 96 of Ray Stannard Baker's second volume. From this it appears that soon after the conference began its work a committee was appointed to study the question of disarming Germany in advance of making the treaty, and that the Chairman of the committee, M. Loucheur, made a report in February, 1919, advocating the seizure of the Ruhr as a means for preventing Germany from rearming. This report apparently failed to obtain the support of M. Clemenceau himself; and Marshal Foch, who took an active part in the treaty negotiations, even decried Loucheur's plan because he "disbelieved in the efficacy of disarmament." But Foch was evidently one of those Frenchmen who had longings to "squeeze this pulsating heart of Germany's industrial life." Speaking on May 6 in plenary session, he criti-

cised the scheme for evacuating the occupied territory on the ground of releasing "the bridgeheads which furnish access to the basin of the Ruhr, the principal source of Germany's wealth, which we no longer menace and whose seizure we renounced."

Nevertheless, although such a stalwart military spirit as Foch had thus explicitly renounced the right of taking the Ruhr, Clemenceau was himself converted to it in June, when it seemed doubtful whether the Germans would sign. As a threat for compelling their signature he proposed to the other powers that Essen be seized after the signing as a means of crippling Germany's resources for an attack upon Poland. But again the proposal was thrust aside by the other powers; "and next day," writes Baker, "the suggestion * * * was withdrawn on the advice of M. Fromageot that it might appear as an act of war."

A NEW ART OF TWISTING WORDS

After all this turning and twisting, after this double defeat of French hopes and their explicit renunciation, it has been reserved for M. Poincaré to come forward to prove that Lloyd George, President Wilson and Signor Orlando put into the treaty something which they twice refused to put there. Loucheur and Clemenceau tried in vain to get it, Foch renounced it under pressure, Fromageot advised its withdrawal; but those weaklings did not anticipate that there would soon be a Premier in France who would show them new possibilities in the art of twisting words and that France had that right quite the same. "The legality of our action defies criticism," declares M. Poincaré, the present-day exponent of Danton's immortal plea for "audacity, more audacity, and still more audacity."

The French Premier likes to claim an analogy between the occupation of the Ruhr and the German occupation of France in 1871. In his note to Great Britain he writes: "But our occupation of the Ruhr, in virtue of Paragraph 18, is fully as justified as the German occupation in 1871." And in some of his public speeches he has referred to Bismarck's threat to extend the German occupation as justification for oc-



The Sarre (Saar) River at Saarbrücken

cupying the Ruhr. This contention provokes the question whether M. Poincaré, who is accounted a great lawyer, seriously and calmly holds that a German threat is the moral equivalent of a French action. The courts of justice in every civilized State would rule against that opinion; they hold that, while a threat is under certain circumstances criminal, it is never on a moral level with the deed threatened. Furthermore, there is really no legal analogy whatever between the German occupation and that of the Ruhr, and M. Poincaré showed himself an exceedingly reckless dialectician in bringing up that example; for he thereby challenges a comparison between the Treaties of Frankfort and Versailles. Anybody that will make such a comparison will find that the Frankfort Treaty makes no stipulations as to what territories the Germans should hold, whereas the Treaty of Versailles does delimit the occupied area in the clearest possible terms. If, therefore, Bismarck had carried his threat into execution he would have done nothing in conflict with Germany's treaty obligations. On the other hand, the arguments of the present article

demonstrate that France has broken the Treaty of Versailles in seizing the Ruhr.

If the Ruhr occupation has no legal warrant under the treaty, it is equally indefensible under the general principles of international law and more binding international agreements. The whole conception of this occupation, as understood and proclaimed over and over again by M. Poincaré, is a monstrosity from the standpoint of international law. Nowhere in the standard works can there be found any recognition whatever of such a conception as a military occupation of the territory of a foreign State in times of peace. The subject of military occupations is treated at great length; the writers go into minute details as to the rights of the occupying forces and those of the population; but all this is on the assumption that a state of actual warfare exists. According to international law, therefore, the occupation of the Ruhr is war, and nothing less; there is no halfway milestone on the road between peace and war. Those of us who have the shortest memories should recall that, when the German armies entered Belgium nine years ago, the step was

everywhere denounced as an act of war. Yet the Germans were most anxious to have just such an occupation as M. Poincaré now wants in the Ruhr—one that is acquiesced in and supported by the population.

M. Poincaré claims that he sent his armies into the Ruhr only to obtain what the Treaty of Versailles clearly gives to France—the “assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States,” and the coal and other commodities that Germany had failed to deliver fully. In other words, he went to collect debts by force of arms. But there is an international agreement, to which France is a party, which forbids the collection of debts by force of arms. The Second Hague Conference adopted the so-called Drago Doctrine, thus making it a part of the fixed international law under which the world is supposed to be living now. It reads thus:

The contracting powers agree not to have recourse to armed force for the recovery of contract debts claimed from the Government of one country by the Government of another as being due to its nationals.

DEBTS TO PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS

The objection may be raised that this applies only to debts due to private individuals. Nevertheless, the principle laid down would seem to apply, for the reason that Germany's debt is due ultimately to French and Belgian citizens, and not to the States concerned.

If there be doubts as to the applicability of this provision, it would at least seem to be a fit subject for arbitration, precisely because The Hague Conference adopted another declaration to the effect that “certain disputes, in particular those relating to the interpretation of treaties and application of the provisions of international agreements, may be submitted to compulsory arbitration without any restriction.” Although France signed that declaration, M. Poincaré appears to know nothing of its existence. He has reiterated his determination to have nothing in the shape of arbitration, not even the ascertainment of Germany's capacity to pay, as suggested by Mr. Hughes and formally proposed by the British Government in its recent note. Is

his refusal in the spirit of the declaration just quoted?

The Hague Conference adopted still another declaration, which was indeed but the sanctioning of a principle that had already become a rule of international law, namely, that of the exemption of private property from seizure. “Private property must be respected,” says that declaration; and, as if this were not yet explicit enough, it put the principle into a still more definite form: “Private property cannot be confiscated”—a provision which Spaight calls the “Magna Charta of war law.”

Another Hague provision declares that “the property of municipalities shall be treated as private property.” What is M. Poincaré doing in the Ruhr—now, in times of peace—according to his own statement? He is seizing and confiscating the property of both private persons and municipalities. It will not do for him to offer the excuse that the coal and other commodities seized by the French belong to France by treaty in any case, and hence France is only claiming her own. That is true, but it is also true that this coal is owed by the German Government, not by individual Germans. France might be entitled to seize all the coal belonging to the German or Prussian Governments that she can lay hands upon; but the coal and other commodities seized do not, for the most part, belong to these Governments. They are private property and are thus exempt from confiscation—exempt even in times of war. But M. Poincaré appears bent upon waging “peace” even more relentlessly than actual warfare. Will it not, therefore, be in order for some future international conference to adopt measures for the protection of private property in times of peace?

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that M. Poincaré's legal case breaks down at every point where it is examined. Instead of “defying criticism from every point of view,” it challenges criticism at every point and can stand it at none. A more flagrant case of treaty-breaking could hardly be construed. No tergiversation of M. Poincaré's trained legal mind can possibly disguise that fact.

FRENCH RADICAL SUPPORT FOR RUHR POLICY

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Author of "The Larger Aspect of Socialism," "Progressivism and After," "Sovietism" and other works

No party in France except the Socialists opposed to making Germany fulfill her obligations—Radicals and democrats in agreement with Poincaré on essentials—Views of Herriot, Loucheur and Painlevé

THE solution of the Ruhr and reparations questions and the organization of the peace of Europe depend upon France. If France remains substantially united the problem can be solved only with her consent. But will she remain united? We know the position of the French Government, of Poincaré and Millerand. We know, on the other hand, that the "internationalism" of the French Socialists is opposed to the foreign policy of Poincaré at nearly every point and that these pacifist extremists have evolved a reparations program in common with the German Socialists, who in the German Reichstag habitually vote with the Government and show "a united front" against France. But the French Socialists by no means represent France. Nor are they the leading party of the Opposition. They are outnumbered and overshadowed by the Radical Party, once more aggressive and united under the leadership of Edouard Herriot, for eighteen years Mayor of Lyons, France's industrial metropolis. All the opposition parties have been gaining steadily in the by-elections, but the party that has gained most of all is the party of Herriot. There is every indication that the elections of 1924 will usher in a Coalition Government, of which the Radical Party will be the central and controlling element.

The recent Radical congress and the speeches of Herriot in and out of the Chamber of Deputies for the last few months show that the opposition is mainly concerned with domestic affairs; the Government is attacked for being on too

friendly terms with the Catholic Church, for not being sufficiently thorough in prosecuting the royalists, and so on. In addition there is a whole program of advanced social reform in the most complete contrast with the social conservatism of the Poincaré bloc. But in foreign affairs all violent language is dispensed with. Poincaré and Herriot show one another the utmost consideration in the Chamber and are as anxious to emphasize their points of agreement as their differences. There are important points of difference as to foreign policy—and Herriot and the Radicals exploit these points to the utmost—but there is no opposition all along the line as in home affairs. Yet these points of difference will give us the key, not only to the probable French policy of 1924, but to the policy that will be pursued by the present Government—or by its successor until the 1924 elections—in order to keep France united before the hostile and indifferent nations.

All during May and June the Radical Party chief was making important speeches in the Chamber of Deputies and elsewhere and writing leading articles—in a word, opening the 1924 electoral campaign. Since nearly all these speeches and articles dealt wholly or in part with the reparations question, they give a fair idea—if taken in their entirety—of the Radical position. But certain points remaining obscure, I formulated a number of questions in writing, and talked them over at length with Herriot himself. Every obscurity was cleared up, and I believe I am now in a position to give a comprehensive, accurate

and connected view of the standpoint on the Ruhr question of the leader of the French opposition, which is also the standpoint of the great body of the French people for whom he speaks.

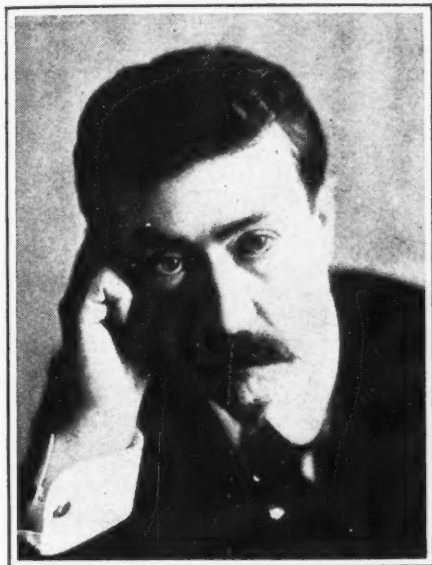
HERRIOT'S VIEWS

Herriot had just written that "in spite of their differences as to the best methods to be employed, the immense majority of the French people are united as to the necessity of obtaining from Germany the reparations that she owes" and that "a check in the Ruhr would be a disaster in all directions for France," and further, that "this all-important fact must dominate all discussion and action on the question." I asked if this meant that France cannot evacuate the Ruhr before the reparations are assured and to an amount regarded by France as just and practicable to obtain. Herriot's affirmative answer was positive and unqualified. He pointed out that the Radicals, while unwilling to accept the British plan last January, had wanted the January negotiations with Great Britain prolonged and had opposed the occupation of the Ruhr *at that time and by France acting without England*. But it was like your driver taking a wrong road against your advice. When the car gets mired, you get out and help push the wheels. There is no way out except by going ahead. Herriot did not criticise Poincaré's principles fundamentally, but was satisfied with the assertion that Poincaré was not of the temperament to get along with British diplomats. But the main point is this: Until a solution is offered satisfactory to France, Herriot and the French Radicals are for the continued occupation and against the evacuation of the Ruhr.

At the same time Herriot and the French Radicals are the bitter enemies of the militarists, imperialists and nationalists of France. They are well disposed toward the German people, friendly to England and ardent enthusiasts for the League of Nations. How do they reconcile these views with their vote in favor of Poincaré and for the credits for the occupation of the Ruhr? "We wish the development of the German people," writes Herriot, "but the German capitalists must pay" — and

he makes it clear that the second clause is the prime consideration. Again, he said in the Chamber of Deputies — and this is a leading point with the Radicals — that "it is to the interest of France to establish contact with German democracy." But let us look at the context. The preceding sentence declares: "First of all, German capitalism must pay." The French people intend to get their reparations. The following sentence is equally significant. German democracy is to be offered "in exchange for its aid in obtaining reparations" — what? Not a reduction of the reparations, not French consent to accept German promises instead of solid guarantees in the shape of German performance, but French aid "in conquering liberty." Now this last kind of aid is something for which the German democrats just now are not asking. What the Germans all want, in varying degrees, is either the remittance of part of the reparations or the reference of the entire question to German honor and good-will without any further military or economic pressure from France. This being the German democrats' attitude, there is scarcely a promise of a Franco-German democratic entente in the attitude of the French Radicals.

The French and German democrats, indeed, hold entirely opposite views of the future of German democracy. According to the French Radicals the one way to insure the future of German democracy and European peace is to pay the reparations by delivering a powerful blow to German capitalism. They believe that it was the "industrial militarism" of Germany which brought on the war of 1914 and "if spared will inevitably bring on another war." An enriched Germany and an impoverished France, as Herriot explained to me, would mean that the aggressors of 1914 would feel justified in having started the war and would use their increased economic power to start another — "probably not more than fifteen years from now." Let us dwell on this remark. Herriot and the Radicals have repeatedly protested against any effort to crush Germany economically. In our conversation he even said that a strong Germany was to the interest of France. But it is clear from



Keystone

PAUL PAINLEVÉ
Former Premier of France

the remark just quoted that he does not want to see a Germany economically *stronger* than France, that—business man as he is—he finds no security for France without *an economic balance of power*. Similarly, in speaking of the Radicals' friendship for Great Britain, he rehearsed with real sympathy Great Britain's economic troubles before and since the war, and reached the conclusion that while at the present moment Great Britain's financial position was better than that of France, France's economic position was better. This business Mayor clearly looks forward to a France the economic equal of the other great powers of Europe.

FEAR OF GERMAN CAPITALISM

The French Radicals believe that if the German capitalists escape their natural penalty, they will rule Germany. The future of German democracy depends upon the success of France (and the Entente) in compelling Germany to pay—a complete reversal of the German democratic standpoint, which argues that the successful compulsion of the present Germany would mean the defeat of the democratic republic and a return to monarch-

ism and reaction. In a word, French democracy (Socialists excepted) concedes nothing as to the substance of the reparations questions. They want to see the total fixed (provided the war debts of France are remitted); they are willing to accept guarantees considered satisfactory by bankers advancing an international loan; but they are opposed to any part of the reparations being paid by France and they are unwilling to give up the Ruhr until some equally good guarantee is offered as a substitute. They show good-will toward German democracy and they want its good-will, but they are not willing to bank on it. The good-will of German democracy was too tragically uncertain and ineffective in 1914.

French democracy believes after all in force, as well as idealism—the just force that won the war. The Radical Party has pledged itself to join in any reasonable effort “to constrain German capitalism to pay its debt.” Herriot pointed out in the Chamber of Deputies that Great Britain as late as January had proposed “draconic sanctions in the case of the failure of Germany to pay.” He expressed approval of such coercion and told me that he believed in co-operation with England because he believed that England might be led to make the same proposition again. In his great speech during the Ruhr debate in the Chamber Herriot's criticism of Poincaré was in no sense directed against the justice of the Ruhr occupation. On the contrary, his whole attack was based mainly on his fear that it might fail through France's economic inability to see it through. Not that France had done or would be likely to do any wrong to the Germans in the Ruhr, but that by Winter she might find herself short of coal.

The attitude of the French Radicals to the German people is somewhat subtle and complex, but it is not doubtful. Herriot said in the Chamber: “If the 65,000,000 Germans are and continue to be uncompromisingly hostile, the problem is insoluble.” He invites the German people to unite with the French democracy in the demand that the German capitalists pay the reparations debt. The Radical Party says that it “cannot allow burdens to fall on the French taxpayer that ought to fall

on German capitalism." But at the same time Herriot and the Radicals are well aware that the German people, through indirect taxes, will pay a part of the reparations debt—and that even if all these payments came exclusively out of German capital, it would be coming from a fund upon which the German people would otherwise have a first lien—a fund from which, moreover, the German people today draw vast benefits. Every reparations plan, besides, contains features that amount to indirect taxation, such as turning over the surplus proceeds of the German Government railways to the reparations account.

I showed Herriot a quotation from the German Social-Democrat organ, *Vorwärts*, acknowledging the success of the Ruhr occupation and demanding "the greatest sacrifices from the entire German people in order to obtain the evacuation of the occupied districts." *Vorwärts* admitted further that "in the last analysis it will always be the working people who will be obliged indirectly to carry the burden of these sacrifices." Herriot admitted that the French Radicals' purpose was not to make the German capitalists solely responsible for the reparations, but to make them pay as large a part as possible. Confronted with the obvious fact that the German people would have to pay a part, Herriot did not hesitate a second, but flashed out: "How about the French people? How about the crushing burdens already borne by the French workmen and peasants? If it comes to any reparations expenditure that must fall either on the French or German peoples, the French propose that the Germans shall be made to pay."

FRANCO-GERMAN DEADLOCK COMPLETE

The deadlock between the French and German peoples is complete. Bitterly opposed to all compulsion applied against Germans, even German capitalists, the Social Democrats in the Reichstag have voted with the Government on its reparations policy. Noting this "united front" publicly (in the Chamber) Herriot and the French Democrats vote credits to Poincaré to continue military and economic compulsion in the Ruhr. Nor is the difference superficial. French democracy

holds Germany solely responsible for the war. The Radicals condemn not only "the crimes committed by Imperial Germany during the war" but also "the ill-will of the Reich in settling its debt since the war." The new democratic republic is responsible for the non-payment of reparations and for the colossal world-wide propaganda against France. In dealing with the responsibility for the war the blame is put mainly on Germany's "industrial militarism." But the responsibility since the war rests on Germany as a whole. "Besides its crimes," Herriot exclaimed in the Chamber, "Germany has shown all the ill-will possible in repairing them."

Far from condemning the Versailles Treaty, Herriot was the first in France to sound an effective alarm against the world-wide success of the Germans and their interested or fanatical friends in attacking it. Since Herriot's article of June 1 calling for an efficient French counter-propaganda, the entire French press has taken up the cry, admitting the success of Germany, especially in the United States, and the complete lack, up to the present, of any organized and continuous French campaign.

Herriot was especially disturbed by the boldness and superficial plausibility of an official German governmental brochure which nowhere mentioned the guilt of the German Empire, "responsible for the sufferings not only of our former enemies, the Germans, but of the whole world," but put the entire guilt on the Treaty of Versailles. Herriot went on to state that Germany as a whole was behind this thoroughly false propaganda. "When that people, instead of admitting its own guilt, unremittingly accuses the Treaty of Versailles, it is a sophism and a scandal." The French democrats criticise the Versailles Treaty freely, but they hold that it is binding. Their criticism, moreover, is not that it was too severe on the German people, but that it was too ineffective in securing reparations for the people of France.

The French Radicals, however, are for co-operation with Great Britain, which holds a different view: "According to us, the moment has come to renew negotiations—in co-operation with England, since



LOUIS LOUCHEUR

A former Cabinet Minister, a leading financier and one of the most influential of politicians in present-day France

nothing will be finally settled without her." Are the French democrats ready, then, for compromise by this road? They favor a continuation of the Entente, because they hold such co-operation is necessary "to bring German capitalism to a more correct notion of its duty," as Herriot explains, or, in the words of the Radical congress, "to bring Germany to make reparation."

There is no suggestion that Great Britain should be accepted as mediator. The idea persists among these French idealists, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that Great Britain, a democratic nation of long standing, is still the *moral ally* of democratic France. They want her aid and welcome her advice as a friend. They will not accept her mediation as a disinterested neutral. In fact, the Radicals are as outraged as anybody at the anti-French tirades of Lloyd George and the Labor Party and the consistent anti-French campaigns of such Liberal organs as The Manchester Guardian, openly admitted as anti-French by Herriot. If England offers her advice as a friend, she must also offer

her aid, and there will be no mistaking her intentions. If she offers "disinterested mediation," no Frenchman knows what strange element of British democracy or what British interest may direct her. For example, Herriot admitted that one of the serious economic clouds hanging over England was a possible "marriage of German coal and French iron," building up a serious rival to British iron and steel interests. Yet the Radicals regard this as one of the most vital elements of a satisfactory settlement.

BRITISH INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS

The proposed appointment of Reginald McKenna as Chancellor of the Exchequer caused alarm, for his speeches before the bankers of London and New York were recalled, to the effect that "the effort of Germany to pay reparations is necessarily in opposition to the interests of the 'industrials' of the rest of the world"—which obviously referred to the industrials of the countries he was addressing, Great Britain and the United States, countries that would receive comparatively little from reparations anyway. The French and the Belgian industrials are the real judges of the relative values of the reparations they will receive and of the loss due to any incidental strengthening of Germany's industries from her efforts to pay them.

French democrats are equally alarmed at the standpoint of Britain's theoretical authorities and idealist leaders, such as J. M. Keynes, who, traveling in Germany and publicly encouraging resistance to the French, is received like a visiting prince and on his return to England explains in The (London) Nation which is now under his editorship, that "practical British policy must not be allowed to stray too far from the solid national interests," since public opinion would refuse to follow. Keynes is taken in England and

elsewhere not only as an idealist, but as an advanced liberal, a democrat and an internationalist. Here is evidence — by no means the first — that his democracy and nationalism are subordinated to "solid national interests." This is no crime. But the nationalistic standpoint of leading British democrats and Laborites, daily observed and noted by Herriot and the democrats of France, makes it certain that French democracy will never accept any form of British intervention in the Franco-German dispute.

The Radicals are the most important supporters of the League of Nations in France. The support of the Socialists is qualified. They favor an idealized League of Nations under Socialist control rather than this one; besides, Socialist support drives other citizens away. The moderate and conservative parties, while favorable to the League, do not attach the first importance to it or expect it to amount to much for present purposes. Nor do the Radicals see as much in it for the present as for the future. But they are League enthusiasts. The party "sees in the League of Nations, enlarged and strengthened, the means of realizing a peace founded on international solidarity and the rights of peoples." In one of his recent speeches Herriot went so far as to demand that the arbitration of the League be "interposed between French and German democracy." But, within a few weeks we find him insisting upon the importance of direct negotiations with Germany; "direct propositions resuming the conditions that to France and Belgium seem to be necessary." The Radicals are not on record as favoring any intervention of the League of Nations in the reparations question. On the contrary, it is only "after the task of reparations is accomplished" that they hope that "under the aegis of a League of Nations enlarged and fortified, there will be established between the two nations relations honorable on both sides."

The repetition of the word "fortified" in connection with the League of Nations is especially significant. France does not propose to entrust its future to an unarmed league. The French Government has indicated its approval of Lord Robert Cecil's plan of regional military guaran-

tees, only if general military guarantees are retained. All parties in France, except the handful of reactionaries, favor or have favored an international police to replace — in degrees varying according to each party — the armed forces of the nation. Even the Socialist Party favors a compulsory military service term of eight months, while the Radicals favor for France one year in place of the existing term of eighteen months. It regards all "mere judicial decrees" without military backing as being "insufficient at the present time to assure the security of France." In a word, it does not regard the League of Nations as an early international panacea. And its adhesion to the League is based upon the assumption that its means of action are to be "fortified," not weakened, as is so widely demanded, as a condition of American participation — in the United States.

It will be seen that in international questions the radical democracy of France has little in common either with the doctrinaire and insular varieties of liberalism of Great Britain, whether represented by Lloyd George or *The Manchester Guardian*, or with the nationalistic Social Democracy or liberalism of Germany. Herriot and the Radical Party are hopeful and open-minded as to the possibilities of co-operation with Great Britain and the German democracy, but they show no indications whatever of yielding on fundamentals. They are as firm believers as Poincaré in the necessity and possibility of making Germany pay. And they have no more intention than the present Government to entrust the present and future of France to the good-will of the Germans or any other people.

Other large political groups in France, somewhat less important numerically than the Radicals, but possibly of more consequence politically because situated nearer to the political centre, hold almost identical opinions. Next to the Radicals and "Socialistic" Radicals, led by Herriot, are the "Socialistic" Republicans, led by former Premier Painlevé, a group which in the present Chamber has about half the strength of the Radicals. Somewhat more moderate is the Democratic Republican Left, led by Loucheur and Briand—a



P. & A.

EDOUARD HERRIOT

The Mayor of Lyons and one of the leaders of the French opposition to the Poincaré Government in the Chamber of Deputies

group at present even stronger, numerically, than the Radicals, but scarcely likely to maintain that relative numerical strength in the elections.

WHERE LOUCHEUR STANDS

Let us first glance at the position of France's great liberal industrialist, Louis Loucheur. Since his historic visit to England in April Loucheur has been in the centre of the political limelight, and he has been doubly articulate in order to defend himself from the accusation that he had proposed to surrender French interests or principles to the British. During May and June Loucheur's speeches left no shadow of doubt as to his support of the Ruhr experiment. "I thought that we would have to come to measures of coercion," he declared, "but I wanted them to be taken in accord with our allies. We

are, however, in the Ruhr; and Germany has been expecting a world-wide reprobation and a serious division among Frenchmen. But we are decided to carry our action through to the end; Germany must acknowledge herself conquered. Not a Frenchman worthy of the name can accept the evacuation of the Ruhr before the recognition of our rights. The occupation of the Ruhr is a guarantee. It ought not to be abandoned except in proportion as Germany will have fulfilled her obligations." Less radical in his democracy than Herriot, Loucheur is blunter and less hesitant in putting responsibility on the German people: "Our American friends came to France to defend the world threatened by a people. We wish to prevent that people from beginning again." As to the amount of reparations, Loucheur, like Painlevé and Herriot—and all France but the Socialists—believes there is no doubt whatever of the German capacity to pay, no need to replace the four years of labor of the Reparations Commission by a new international body of bankers or financial experts. It is a question of German *will to pay*, not of *capacity to pay*, and to effect a change of this will there is no need for investigation of facts, but of pressure, the same sort of pressure that defeated Germany's designs of world conquest and forced her to sign the Treaty of Versailles—and to fulfill some of its clauses.

In a long conversation I had with former Premier Painlevé (also in June) he showed that the position of his party was substantially identical with that of the Radicals and the Democratic Left. He also would extend a hand to the German democracy if he could trust it to dominate in Germany. But he repeated his regret that the allied armies had not penetrated further into Germany and crushed the junker and industrialist power. As to the German democracy, his position was the same as that he had publicly stated on Jan. 16, at the time of the final occupation of the Ruhr: "A democracy which has only the appearance of power, which can exact obedience from neither its army, its magistrates, its administrations, nor its professors, which can neither levy taxes nor secure loans, is nothing but a screen

behind which an irresponsible and all-powerful financial and industrial feudalism can mock at treaties and agreements."

The French public—or certainly the 75 per cent. of the French public who are taxpayers and holders of governmental loans—are going to have their reparations even if they have to use force to get them. But does this mean that they are less pacifist than other peoples? Herriot, Painlevé and the French Democrats claim exactly the opposite. France has suffered most from war and has the greatest horror of it. "But experience shows us," Painlevé pointed out to me, "that mere horror of war will not necessarily prevent it." I showed him a series of articles from an important American weekly—a series which, on the whole, was not anti-French. Yet it concluded: "With us [Americans] war is an ugly business, very costly, to be justified only by a principle for which one is willing to die. With the people of Europe war is a habit. They know not peace. Successful war pays." Here was the honest and friendly opinion of an intelligent and well-informed American, typical of millions. Former Premier Painlevé, than whom there is no more intelligent or representative Frenchman, denied every word of it. "The French do *not* accept war more readily than you do," he said; "on the contrary, they fear it more. It is *not* true that Europeans do not know peace. For an entire century—from 1815 to 1914—France witnessed only one war. We know that successful war does *not* pay the aggressive nation—that is, in the long run it never pays the nation as a whole. But it may pay individuals or a small ruling class—

like the German junkers and industrialists. This is the very fact that makes wars." British pacifism of the Norman Angell-Labor Party type has no vogue in France. For if war does not pay a conquering nation in the long run, it is not, as they allege, because war defeats itself automatically, cannot bring material gains to anybody and does not need to be fought except with words, but for the very opposite reason that "the entire world will rise up sooner or later and overthrow the despoiling conqueror."

The same American writer already quoted had implied that France was acting the part of a conqueror now. France, he wrote, was taking steps under the Treaty of Versailles to make Germany "pay for the late war." Whether careless thinking or deliberate, this is undoubtedly the view of millions of Americans. Painlevé, usually so cool, was scarcely able to suppress his indignation at this point. Germany had made France pay the cost of the war of 1870. France was demanding nothing whatever for the cost of her armies; she was demanding the repair of wanton damage deliberately done for the purpose of permanently crippling France.

How do such strangely perverted notions of the thinking and purpose of the French Nation obtain currency in America? The French people of all parties (except the Socialists) attribute it to the widely ramified German and British propaganda—the latter the work of those British interests which would restore German trade at any cost; that is, at any cost to the French.



POINCARÉ'S REPLY TO GREAT BRITAIN'S CHALLENGE

Text of the official statement by the French Government in answer to the British strictures on the occupation of the Ruhr territory

THE following is the full text as cabled exclusively to The New York Times of Premier Poincaré's reply on behalf of the French Government to the British note of Aug. 11 (which was published in full in the September number of CURRENT HISTORY, pages 1039-1046). The words in brackets at the beginning of each numbered paragraph indicate the subject matter of the corresponding paragraphs of the British note.

1. [On dissatisfaction with French and Belgian replies of July 30.] We regret not to be able to understand British disappointment. The London Cabinet had long been aware of our views [see notably in Yellow Book interviews de Saint-Aulaire and our two notes]. Unfortunately, we have hitherto not perceived the effort the British Government states it made in order to approach French ideas; that is to say, normal execution of the Treaty of Versailles, but we are convinced that its good-will and ours together will not fail shortly to reach an agreement.

2. [Concerning obstacles to reconsideration.] There are not only the two obstacles indicated; there is also our resolution, a hundred times expressed, not to renounce one centime of our reparations claim, which is sacred and in no way resembles any other claim; there is, besides, our resolution not to renounce the pledge we hold until reparations are paid in full.

3. [As to England's belief she had overcome obstacles.] The English draft reply to the German note took no consideration of what France considers essential. We had said that if a reply were made to Germany this reply, according to us, must deal only with cessation of passive resistance, a question which is both of preliminary and dominant importance.

4. [Regarding courtesy of Britain's note.] The French reply, although firm, was courteous. We regret to find, although the English reply also was in very courteous form, that its contents were far from conciliatory, but we will make every effort to dissipate misunderstanding.

5. [As to the effort to avoid controversy.] It was not our fault if instead of resorting to publicity the British Government did not continue to use diplomatic means of discussion, a procedure for which it had itself taken the initiative. We think it would be preferable to keep to that method.

6. [On the question of consideration shown.] The British Government gives it to be understood that it took our point of view into account. Yet in its note of July 20 it appeared unaware of everything the French Government had declared during the last conferences in London and Paris and of everything the French Ambassador has been charged with explaining to his Excellency the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

7. [With regard to the tone of the French and Belgian notes.] If our reception of its proposals disappointed the British Cabinet it was because its note of July 20 treated our proposals as if they were non-existent. We were obliged to repeat them in our note of July 30.

8. [On England's wish to answer both countries

at once.] Our friends and allies, the Belgians, must themselves answer this point.

9. [Regarding the draft reply to Germany.] We cannot discuss the draft joined to the British note of July 20 because the terms of this draft show that no account was taken of our prior declarations. We must again place in view the fundamental principles upon which we hold that no discussion is permissible. We have never thought of uselessly prolonging the discussion. Far from it. It is only necessary that England answer without delay the questions which we have a right to ask in conformity with the method adopted by the British Government itself.

10. [As to Belgium's reply of July 30.] We will permit the Belgian Government to answer this point.

11. [As to the need of assessing Germany's capacity.] We declare that we cannot understand the reasoning presented by the British Government with regard to capacity for payment of the country. The capacity for payment of Germany today is equal to zero, and that by the fault of the Reich. Any expert assessment will be useless. Does the British Cabinet wish to suppress completely the German debt on the ground that capacity for payment is provisionally reduced to zero? Is it this conclusion which it seeks?

12. [Regarding French and Belgian minimums.] We have said that the German debt has been fixed by the Reparation Commission by virtue of the treaty. We have added that we maintained our entire claim on Germany, but that we were disposed to abandon a counterpart to the amount by which our own war debt was reduced.

AMOUNT OF THE GERMAN DEBT

13. [Regarding the Bokanowski estimate.] According to the decision given in execution of the treaty by the Reparation Commission the amount of the German debt is 132,000,000,000 gold marks. It is impossible to say what is the present value of this sum, seeing that payment of the most important part of the debt [C Bonds] is postponed *sine die*. The estimate of M. Bokanowski is but proof of the enormous injury already caused us by the London plan of payments in reducing the actual value of the German debt to a figure very inferior to the theoretical figure. The estimate of the French Deputy also proves that without diminishing the amount of the capital debt Germany can lighten payment by conforming to the procedure indicated in Articles 2, 3 and 4 of the treaty. The successive moratoriums accorded Germany since 1921 have again reduced the actual value of this debt. It is, therefore, useless to upset the treaty. We leave it to Belgium to reply on the subject of the priority accorded to her. But France cannot forget that it was Belgian territory which was first invaded by Germany, and that it is this criminal violation of the liberties and rights of a small and valiant nation which made the war one of righteousness and justice.

14. [Relating to France's alleged demand to receive 26,000,000,000 gold marks.] France has never had the egotistical design which has been gratuitously attributed to her. She never said that she would be content to receive 34,000,000,000 gold marks. Our claim theoretically was fixed at 68,000,000,000. Our theoretical debts vary themselves, apart from adjustments which must be made, between 25,000,000,000 and 27,000,000,000 gold marks. It is these figures which must be balanced up, and not those of

34,000,000,000 and 27,000,000,000. Our claim on Germany has been reduced to 26 billions, but our debts have not in any way been reduced, and we cannot expect less from our allies than that which has been accorded Germany. Was not the English debt to the United States, subject to arrangement, reduced to its present value by 30 per cent.? The calculations of Paragraph 14, therefore, present the position to public opinion in a manner which is involuntarily inexact.

15. [Relating to the Belgian proposal to grant special priority for restoration of the devastated areas.] Here again it is Belgium which has the right to reply. The British Cabinet takes into account the naval material which was destroyed, which also constitutes material damages just as does transported merchandise. But is not the British fleet reconstituted, its German rival being destroyed, or only having been reformed, thanks to the sales of vessels made to it by England? The French factories and mines, on the other hand, are not yet reconstituted on a prewar footing, while German industry is working at high pressure.

16. [The British assertion that the suggested priority would alter the Spa basis of division in favor of France and Belgium.]—This question concerns Belgium.

17. [Relating to England's objection to revising the Spa percentages.] It was not France who asked for a modification of percentages. She does not, indeed, ignore the fact that England has made a great effort to re-establish her finances and pay her debts. We might no doubt have done the same thing had we not possessed our devastated regions which we were obliged to reconstruct ourselves at the price of sacrifices far more considerable than those of England. The English were obliged to abandon their foreign securities in the interest of the Allies. But did we not do the same thing, and for sums perhaps as great if not still greater?

18. [Dealing with France's rejection of the plan for an impartial expert investigation of Germany's ability to pay.] It is England which has invited us to ask questions in speaking in vague, little comprehensible terms of a commission of international experts. And she does not reply to these questions. She only repeats the affirmations about Germany's capacity for payment which we have already shown to be of an illusory character.

19. [In which Great Britain questioned the justice of the Reparation Commission's fixing the total payment payable by Germany at 132,000,000,000 gold marks.] Once more we ask for the application of Article 234. Nothing proves better than the estimates of M. Bokanowski to what extent the debt might be lightened by the simple adjustment of modalities of payment and without having to discuss the amount of this debt. It is the business of the Reparation Commission to proceed from time to time to the evaluation of German capacity for payment, to study variations and to arrange amounts of payment accordingly.

20. [The British admission that the duty of adjusting the schedule of payments to German capacity to pay in accordance with Article 234 of the treaty is one which still remains to be discharged.] The French Government has no observations to make.

OBJECTIONS TO INQUIRY

21. [The British allegation that estimates of German capacity to pay made when the Peace Conference was in session were based on insufficient data.] If at the end of the war the estimates of the capacity of Germany to pay, which were based upon the prewar situation, could vary between 60,000,000,000 and 800,000,000,000 gold marks, how is it possible to arrive at a more precise evaluation in the present economic chaos and at a time when Germany systematically conceals the truth and falsifies all her statistics? Far from making possible a definite evaluation of German capacity for payment, the five years which have passed have shown that such an inquiry would lead to most discordant results. The valuation of 120,000,000,000 gold

marks cited in our note is to be found in the chapter "Reparations," written by Mr. Lamont and published in Colonel House's book, "The Truth About the Paris Conference: What Really Happened at Paris."

22. [Arguing that final decision of the amount of reparations rests in part upon the Reparation Commission and in part upon the allied Government.] The British Cabinet recognizes that unanimity of the Governments is essential for the diminution of the German debt. We have said quite clearly that this unanimity did not exist. We cannot renounce any portion of the claim whose recovery is vital to France; and we know Germany is and always will be rich enough to pay us. All that is necessary is the will. She spends more today on resistance than she would have had to spend to fulfill her obligations. The British note alludes to the interests of Governments not represented on the commission, which it is alleged France disregards. France does not need to be reminded of her duties toward other people. She has never forgotten them. But if certain countries at present are suffering it is because of the situation into which Germany has voluntarily plunged the world and which we wish to end.

23. [The British demand for an inquiry "by impartial experts" into German's capacity to pay, in order to assist the Reparation Commission.] Either this commission of experts is the Reparation Commission itself, with its agents—in which case what is the use of this discussion?—or else this commission is a substitute for the Reparation Commission and therefore contrary to the treaty.

24. [Concerning the Reparation Commission's qualifications.] We unfortunately fear that this paragraph does not reveal the whole secret program of the British Government, and that it also does not give the true meaning to the adjective "impartial" with which the British Cabinet continues to qualify the word "experts." One desires to have impartial experts, which means, in other words, that one considers the Reparation Commission in its present form as partial. One forgets that France alone has the right by virtue of the Spa agreement to 52 per cent. of the German debt. Let us add that, in fact, the French President of the Reparation Commission only had occasion once to make use of his casting vote, and that in connection with Hungarian affairs and not with the German question.

25. [Composition of impartial expert commission.] We have nothing further to propose to the British Government on this point but respect for the treaty and the maintenance of the commission which was thereby constituted. The composition of an international commission would be negation of the treaty signed by England and also by all her allies.

26. [Experts' relations to Reparation Commission.] The first proposition would be dissolution pure and simple of the Reparation Commission and an avowed revision of the Treaty of Versailles, that is to say, a public and solemn abandonment of the undertaking between the Allies. The second proposition would less directly attain the same result. It would create the danger of opposing an international body to the Reparation Commission, of weakening the latter's authority, and of creating a duality of rival powers. The Reparation Commission can at any moment choose experts and confide to them any determined mission. But we could not accept the proposal that, under the pretext of improving it, it should be beheaded and that, under the pretext of getting others to verify Germany's capacity for payment, French rights should be compromised.

27. [On the German Government's acceptance.] We continue to feel all the disquiet which we expressed with regard to this matter.

28. [Germany's ability to obey.] The English reasoning is in fact very correct concerning the relations of the Allies. Consequently, when we find neither just nor reasonable diminutions of the rights which one is trying to force upon us, we hope that the British Cabinet will take into consideration our legitimate opposition. But,

following the war, which lasted four years and in which France had ten departments devastated and in which she lost more than 1,400,000 of her children, how can one entirely forget the harm done by vanquished Germany, and how can one wait with patience for her to recognize her debts? At what moment did she seem disposed to recognize any figures as being just and reasonable? And when she says she recognizes it, what guarantees shall we have for tomorrow? Besides, Articles 2, 3 and 4, and numerous dispositions of Annex 2 have precisely the object of remedying the inconvenience of measures which might surpass Germany's powers of execution.

29. [On value of Germany's promise.] It must be said once more that the German Government has never up to now given any proof of good-will. How, then, could it be expected to change in the face of allied benevolence? France is no more anxious than England to humiliate Germany, but she has no illusion about the results of a policy of weakness.

30. [Regarding resistance in the Ruhr.] We regret to be in disaccord with the British Government on this point.

31. [About the legitimacy of occupation.] The British Cabinet, in taking here a position clearly in agreement with the German pretensions, contradicts the position which England has already taken several times in the past.

ENGLAND ALREADY COMMITTED

32. [Arbitration proposal.] We have no need to submit to any jurisdiction whatever any difference of opinion on the interpretation of Article 18. We have only to invoke the opinion previously given by the British Government itself.

33. [As to British "inconsistency."] The assertions contained in this paragraph are entirely inexact. If, as she says, England ever thought of rebeginning the war, France never had any such idea. Besides, when the Spa protocol was written on July 16, 1920, it was precise on the question of reparations: "Part Seven—If on the date of the 15th of November, 1920, it is found that the total of deliveries for August, September and October, 1920, does not reach 6,000,000 tons, the Allies will proceed with the occupation of a new part of German territory, either the Ruhr or some other region." Therefore it was, indeed, on the question of reparations and a special category of reparations. At that time England found the occupation of the Ruhr perfectly legitimate. If she has changed her mind, that is her business; but today no more than in 1920 have we sought to commit an act of hostility and we have simply been fair to ourselves.

34. [On the right of military occupation.] England did not reason thus in 1920-21. On three separate occasions new occupations were decided upon by the Allies, July 16, 1920; March 9 and May 5, 1921. England joined in these decisions. She then considered that Paragraph Eighteen gave the Allies the right to take not only economic and financial sanctions or measures of reprisal, but, in general, all other measures which their respective Governments might judge to be necessary and without any question that these measures could be regarded by Germany as an act of hostility. As for Article 430, the response to the British Government is made on page eleven of the accompanying letter.

35. [Britain's abstention from protest.] Here again the British Government attributes to us an attitude we have not held. We did not provoke her to discuss this question of legality. On the contrary, it was understood that it would be left aside.

36. [Regarding England's failure to participate.] We did not go into the Ruhr to find immediately money for reparations, but above all to create in the German Government a wish to pay and to seize guarantees. We have said that more than enough. If the Ruhr has stopped producing, it is because of passive resistance. We were only seeking a guarantee, and it is

Germany who, on purpose, stopped production in order to rob us of this guarantee. She certainly would not have done that if all our Allies had been on our side and she had not been able to count on divergencies among us.

37. [In reply to statements that the occupation is reducing Germany's power to pay.] We have destroyed nothing in the Ruhr. Germany's capacity for production is greater than ever. With a little good-will Germany could produce and transform her capacity for production into a capacity for payments. The reasoning of the British Cabinet consists of attributing to the occupation of the Ruhr the effect produced before the occupation. It is not permitted to forget that before we went into the Ruhr Germany herself declared she was unable to pay and asked a moratorium of four years.

38. [In reply to statements that the analogy between the German occupation of 1871 and the present situation is false.] We notice with satisfaction that the British Cabinet does not intend to propose evacuation of the left bank. But our occupation of the Ruhr in virtue of Paragraph 18 is fully as justified as the German occupation of 1871.

39. [Answering the statement that the 1871 campaign was short and France had credit facilities to pay Germany easily.] The campaign of 1871 was a long and hard one for France and brought the invasion of a great part of her territory, large requisitions and many ruins. This paragraph of the British note has produced the saddest impression in France. To-day again, after a new invasion and unprecedented destruction, France has found means already to advance 100,000,000,000 francs for the account of Germany. It is France who, although Germany was defeated, has paid up until now all her reparations, and to suppose that Germany on various counts has paid eight billions since the war does not mean to say that France got it, and, besides, the treaty laid down that twenty billions should have been paid by May 1, 1921. And here we are nearly at the end of 1923. Besides, is it true that the indemnity laid on Germany is thirty-three times greater than that paid Germany after 1871? It is to be noted that besides this indemnity France had to support after 1871 the maintenance of German armies, the loss of revenue from ceded territory, the cost of successive loans, and that she had to pay, besides her military pensions, indemnities to departments, communes, railroad companies &c. The total expenditure was seven billions besides the five billions paid to Germany. On the other hand, the English Cabinet takes into consideration neither the value of money nor the increase in the wealth of the country between 1870 and 1920, after fifty years of development unequalled in history. France had the will to pay. Germany has not the will. In 1871 we paid the costs of war; in 1920 Germany refuses to pay reparations for that which she voluntarily destroyed in order to put us in a position of economic inferiority for years to come. It is painful to note the English Cabinet does not appreciate the value of this difference in conduct.

40. [Concerning suggestions that proposals be made to restore the Ruhr to enable it to become an area of production instead of strife.] There was no question of the proposals in the note of July 20, but of two formal conditions. The "proposals" dealt only with changes which we could make in the form of occupation and were unacceptable, as they comprised evacuation before receiving payment.

41. [Answering the charge that France held out no hope of evacuation even after Germany ceased passive resistance.] We have never been vague and we have never said nor allowed it to be supposed that we would abandon pledges as soon as resistance had broken down and before complete payment had been made. Alleviation was defined in so far as it was possible to do so.

42. [Regarding the proposal to terminate the occupation the moment less "harmful" pledges were in operation.] Here disagreement is ob-

vious on every basis. The British Cabinet cannot have failed to read the four Franco-Belgian communiqués. We are quite disposed as soon as resistance has ceased to transform progressively the character of the occupation and to assure, in accord with the Allies, control of the pledges held. But we will not evacuate the Ruhr against fresh promises, and it is payments which we desire.

43. [Replying to the charge that there was no indication the occupation would not last a minimum of thirty-six years, and possibly continue forever.] It depends upon Germany whether we shall soon evacuate the Ruhr by placing herself in the position of changing her finance system to contract international debts, and to liberate herself by anticipation. The desire for our evacuation will be a stimulant to her.

ANNEXATION DESIGNS REPUDIATED

44. [Replying to quotation of Article 11 of the League covenant to describe the situation as threatening to disturb international peace.] We protest once more indignantly against the hypothesis that France desires to annex the Ruhr or remain there. It is not we who wish to prolong the present situation. The British Cabinet threatens us with an appeal to the League of Nations, as if there were danger or even possibility of war. We cannot for one moment allow such discussion of our actions.

45. [Answering statement that the occupation had brought a grave economic crisis the world over.] France is in no way responsible for the economic crisis. It is German resistance which prolongs an unfortunate situation; everything which encourages German resistance contributes to this continuance, and everything which does not discourage this resistance encourages it. Chancellor Stresemann's speech is fresh proof of this. Moreover, statistics recently published by the British Government in the month of July show that since the occupation of the Ruhr—that is to say, from January to July, 1923—Great Britain's exports and imports surpassed in weight and value those of the first seven months of 1922. Freightage, which interests English shipping more than anything else, increased 13½ per cent. in comparison to re-exports of 1922.

46. [Replying to the offer of Britain to cut her claims against Germany and the Allies.] We are happy at last to learn the ideas of the British Government concerning interallied debts, but we regret we are unable to consider this idea in so far as it has been presented to us up to now as in accordance with French interests. It is very natural that England should try to recover from Germany what she owes the United States. This is what we ourselves would like to do regarding our allied debts, but England says: "I have promised to pay the United States \$14,200,000,000. I will demand from my allied debtors the amount which I do not obtain from Germany." Thus it would be allied debtors of England who would pay to her that part of \$14,200,000,000 owed to the United States which Germany does not pay. The British Cabinet thereby establishes solidarity between Germany and her own allies, placing on an equal footing war debts and interallied debts. Is it possible, however, to confound sums which the Allies spent in order to win the war and those which Germany owes for having ravished our territories? Every pound sterling, every dollar which France owes England or the United States represents allied blood which has been spared. Gold marks of Germany represent allied blood which has been spilled. We cannot, besides, prevent ourselves from calling attention to a curious coincidence: the fourteen billions to which England appears to limit her claim on Germany represent exactly England's percentage [22 per cent.] of the sixty-five billion gold marks which the British Cabinet considers to be the present value of the German debt. [See paragraph 13.] On the other hand, the interest of the German debt is 5 per cent., while that of the English debt to the United

States has been fixed first at 3 per cent., then at 3½ per cent. The result of this is that the annuity which the British Government at present owes the United States is virtually equal to the annuity which is due her from her part of the class A and class B bonds of the German debts. According to this calculation, England therefore renounces nothing of the modality of the payment of London. Where, then, is the sacrifice which she is alleged to be making in return for those which she demands of the Allies?

47. [On fixing German payments.] The British Cabinet asks us to recommence what was done on the 5th of May, 1921. Germany has upset everything. Any new experience, therefore, does not tempt us.

48. [About discussing security.] This paragraph entirely misrepresents our ideas, which we believed to be clear. We said that if the two questions of the Ruhr and of security were distinct "we will always be very happy to consider this latter question with the British Government." That could mean nothing else than: "Let us talk at once if you wish, but do not let us mix two distinct questions." France has sufficiently shown quite recently before the Commission on Disarmament of the League of Nations that she is ready to discuss all questions relative to the consolidation of peace, and she even had the satisfaction of seeing the British representatives coming around to her point of view. Further, at the beginning of 1923, after Mr. Lloyd George offered us a unilateral pact guarantee, subordinated to a preliminary settlement of all outstanding questions between Great Britain and France, limited to five years and containing no precise indication of military assistance, we replied that we would willingly examine these proposals, but on condition that the duration of the pact should exceed that of the occupation laid down in the treaty; that it should be reciprocal, and that it should be accompanied by reciprocal and effective military guarantees—that is to say, on condition that it should have practical value for both countries. Up to now we have had no reply. France is ready even now to recommence examination of all problems relative to her security. But even effective guarantees against new aggression must not have this effect, that they deprive her of any part of her right to reparations.

GERMANY'S CAPACITY UNCERTAIN

49. [Concerning England's wish that Germany pay.] Visa.

50. [On England's view of the amount.] It is impossible to estimate at once and for all the present and future capacity of payment by Germany. It is today at its lowest, and to accept the present valuation would only be to profit Germany.

51. [As to determining Germany's capacity.] Impartial inquiry can and ought to be made, not only today, but later and from time to time, by the Reparation Commission and its own experts as laid down in the treaty.

52. [On the need for a German surplus.] Organization of Germany's finance and stabilization of her money has been demanded many times by the Allies and has been refused up to the present by Germany. The sooner Germany understands the necessity of making these reforms, the sooner will she put herself in the position of raising her credit and improving her economic state. She will find thus, little by little, the means of making payment from her internal riches, which are immense.

53. [As to the danger to the world in occupation.] It is the resistance of Germany to occupation and not the occupation itself which has diminished reparations deliveries, especially those of coal and coke. Before we entered the Ruhr, Germany had already asked for a general moratorium, and had declared that it was impossible for her to continue deliveries in kind as formerly. It is strange that the British Cabinet reasons as if these declarations had never been made.

54. [On the debt waiver by Britain.] If the

British Cabinet, as is its right, finds it impossible to modify the percentages or accord priority to reparations, we are forced ourselves to stand rigorously by the figures which have been promised us with the explicit assent of England, both by the Treaty of Versailles and by the London schedule of payments.

55. [As to England's reluctance to separate action.] The Government of this republic has as much as the British Cabinet the ardent desire to maintain peace in the world, to re-establish therein normal life and to develop the facilities of commerce. But it does not believe that the economic restoration of Europe is possible except by observation of the treaties and by adherence to justice. It was only after express deliberation by the Reparation Commission that the Government of the republic proceeded to action, not isolated, but distinct from that of England. It is conscious of having remained faithful to its engagements with the Allies, and it remains resolved never to disregard them.

THE FRENCH DEBT TO GREAT BRITAIN

Having answered paragraph by paragraph the fifty-five paragraphs of the British note, M. Poincaré proceeds:

First—The British Government, in subordinating the question of interallied debts to the valuation of Germany's capacity for payment and in seeking to value this capacity at a time when it is at its lowest, necessarily arrives at the conclusion that the interallied debts are valued at the highest figure.

Second—It is quite understandable that the British Government should claim from Germany all that it should pay the United States. But if it claims from us what it does not receive from Germany, we will find ourselves naturally obliged to preserve up to the limit our due, the right of recovery against Germany within the limits of our recognized rights.

Third—By offering not to claim against Germany payment of damages beyond amounts which shall be claimed from her by the Allies, France, whose material losses were far greater than those of all her allies together, and whose losses in men were greater than those of any other allies, has shown herself disposed to make a sacrifice far greater than that of England.

Fourth—The total which France claims from Germany is very much lower than the expenditures she has been forced to make to repair her devastated regions quite apart from what she would have the right to claim for pensions.

Fifth—We also greatly fear that the policy set forth in the British note does not take into consideration the abnormal economic situation of France and has a tendency to impose upon her burdens which she could not support.

Sixth—The British Cabinet therefore definitely subordinates the settlement of interallied debts to an international expert examination made by irresponsible financiers and to the constitution of a commission in which Belgium and France would be placed in a minority.

Seventh—The British Government persists in attributing to the occupation of the Ruhr the consequences of the policy pursued by Germany before that occupation and continued by her since, as if the policy would have changed in case we had not occupied the Ruhr. Such an argument, or, to put it more exactly, such an affirmation, is in contradiction with the facts as shown in the works executed by the Reparation Commission in 1922, and even with the reiterated declarations of the British Government, which several times last year proclaimed the bad faith of Germany and the dangers of its financial methods.

Eighth—We understand very well that the British Government reserves its rights. It will doubtless understand that we reserve ours toward Germany.

Ninth—We have never contested the claims of England. We have only said, and we repeat,

that our debt, contracted in exceptional circumstances and in the common interest, cannot be compared in morality or in justice to Germany's reparations debt.

Tenth—The purchases made by the Government, thanks to these advances, had none the less for their essential object the equipment and supplying of the armies which fought in the common cause.

Eleventh—If it was not suggested at the time these loans were made that their reimbursement depended on recovery from Germany, it was because at that time the Allies envisaged a general pooling of their efforts and worked with the same ardor for the common victory, and at the end of the war the figures indicated for reparations, either by the Treaty of Versailles itself [a minimum of 100,000,000,000 marks guaranteed by bonds] or by the method of payment decided upon by the conference of London, would have enabled France to repay without difficulty the whole of her debt to England.

Twelfth—France has never repudiated her debts and will not repudiate them, but she is convinced that no British Government will ever bring to bear upon an allied country the pressure which the British Cabinet does not think it possible to bring to bear today against the former enemies of England and France. We can therefore only repeat that we will be in a position to repay our debt to England, or even to pay interest on it, when payments by Germany shall have enabled us to complete the reparation of damages caused on our soil by invasion and battle.

POINCARÉ'S COVERING LETTER

Premier Poincaré's reply to the British note was accompanied by the following covering letter:

In deference and out of courtesy to the British Government we have decided to reply point by point in the attached to all paragraphs of its numbered note. But does it not seem necessary first to lay down in general and synthetic terms the position taken up for many months by France?

The Government of the Republic has never dreamed, with regard to the grave question of reparations, of pursuing a policy of narrow selfishness. Urgent as may be for France the restoration of the devastated regions, it is very well known that an economic problem of this importance cannot be dealt with separately, as it is linked with many others, and that it would be impossible to solve it while neglecting European interests as a whole. Moreover, the Government of the Republic has always seriously taken into consideration the difficulties experienced by certain of its allies and in particular the grievous unemployment which persists in England and which, by the way, reached its greatest point of intensity long before the occupation of the Ruhr. If France demands with insistence execution, pure and simple, of the treaty, it is not because of some kind of judicial attachment to the letter and spirit of diplomatic documents. It is, first, owing to attentive and scrupulous respect for the given word. It is also through fear of dangerous precedent, which would be created by a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaties of Saint Germain, Neuilly and Trianon would quickly share the same fate and all the foundations of the new Europe would be shaken.

Now, the Treaty of Versailles confided to the Interallied Reparation Commission the task of fixing before May 1, 1921, the amount of the German debt. This debt did not comprise the costs of war, but apart from this precise and voluntary omission had very wide scope and it included, apart from reparations and pensions, a long list of damages of all categories. The treaty added that in order to facilitate immediate restoration of economic life in allied countries, Germany must, before even the debt was fixed, guarantee it in a certain measure, and it prescribed that she must hand over to the commission negotiable bonds amounting to one hundred billion gold marks. Thus one hundred

billion gold marks was at the time the treaty was signed, in the view of its framers, the minimum laid down before any exact valuation had been made. The first section bonds, twenty billion gold marks, were payable at latest on May 1, 1921.

Immediately after signing the treaty the Reparation Commission discovered the bad will of Germany toward all its demands, and the allied Governments also could not fail to see that in no way whatsoever did the German Reich fulfill its obligations. As early as April, 1920, at San Remo, the Allies proclaimed: "Germany has not carried out its undertakings, neither with regard to destruction of war material, nor reduction of armed forces, nor supply of coal, nor reparations, nor payment of the cost of the army of occupation. She does not even appear to have explained by what means she could face her obligations. The Allies are unanimous in declaring that they cannot tolerate a continuation of infractions of the Treaty of Versailles, that this treaty must be executed and that they are resolved to take all measures and even if necessary occupy a further part of German territory." A few months later, from July 4 to 16, 1920, the Allies met at Spa. One of the principal questions discussed was that of coal. The Reparations Commission had a few months previously declared Germany in default. The Allies lay down their program, advances are made to Germany, but she is urged to furnish during the following three months a minimum of two million tons a month, and it is added: "If on Nov. 15, 1920, it was found that the total deliveries of August, September and October, 1920, had not attained six million tons, the Allies will proceed to occupy a new part of German territory, the region of the Ruhr or any other." Faced by a menace as categorical as this, Germany simply carries out her undertaking up to the specified date, but as soon as Nov. 15 passes she again begins to resist and falls back into her defaults.

MORE GERMAN EVASION

There is a new conference in Paris, January, 1921. The Allies again draw up a very severe program, and announce that if Germany does not change her attitude they will take sanctions and indicate as sanctions: Prolongation of the date of evacuation of the Rhineland territories, occupation of the Ruhr or any other territory, seizure of the revenues on the left bank of the Rhine, &c. Germany's policy of evasion continues. There is a new conference of the Allies in London, Feb. 21 to March 7. This time Germany is called upon to attend. She is asked to make proposals, but those she made were derisive. Mr. Lloyd George apostrophized Dr. Simon. "What have we demanded of Germany?" he asked. "I think it is important that the German public perfectly understand the nature of our demands which it has not understood. We have only maintained that Germany owes reparations with regard to burdens imposed upon our countries owing to material damage caused to property and life. We have not demanded more. We cannot accept less. A great part of these devastations were caused by bombardments and operations of war, but an incredible quantity of damage was the result of deliberate intention. The desire was to destroy essential factors of production; this is true both with regard to France and Belgium. To use the words of General von Bissing, pronounced at the first meeting of the German Economic Commission in Belgium, June 19, 1915: 'The aim was to prevent the renaissance of Belgium to compete with German industry.' Great factories were destroyed in cold blood, machinery was smashed to pieces. Sometimes essential and complicated plants which would take long to replace were removed, bridges with concrete foundations and blast furnaces were blown up, &c." Mr. Lloyd George gave innumerable examples and concluded: "Consequently, unless Germany repairs the damages, one can say that it is the victors who will pay the price of defeat and the vanquished who will reap the benefits of victory." He continued: "In face of these gigantic damages, what is

offered to France, who is staggering under the weight of the cost of her war debt and systematic destruction which transformed her richest province into horrible deserts of ruin and despair? What is offered to France, battling with necessity, rebuilding her destroyed houses and factories, which only means the livelihood of those poor people who for five years endured the horrors of war in the devastated provinces? What is offered to France, who must also support, in addition, all the rest of the enormous cost of pensions? Proposals made to us prove that Germany desired not to fulfill the obligations to which she has subscribed, but to evade them, although these obligations are far below those which, conforming to the precedent created by Germany in 1871, we might have imposed on her. We are convinced that the German Government not only fails to fulfill its obligations, but that it fails to fulfill them with deliberate intention. Therefore, unless we are informed on Monday next that Germany is ready either to accept the decisions of the Paris conference or submit proposals enabling her by other and equally satisfactory means to fulfill obligations incumbent on her under the Versailles Treaty, we will take the following measures to which we are empowered by the Treaty of Versailles: The cities of Duisburg, Ruhrort and Düsseldorf on the right bank of the Rhine will be occupied," &c.

In spite of this new threat; in spite of the occupation of the three cities indicated; in spite of the repeated notices of the Reparation Commission, Germany persists in dodging. Not only does she not pay the 20,000,000,000 gold marks which she was to have paid before May 1, 1921, but she pretends against all truth that she has already paid more than 20,000,000,000 and that she owes no more before May 1. In fact, on May 1, 1921, the account of the 20,000,000,000 deduction made for expenses of food supplies and purchases of raw materials by Germany showed a liquid credit of less than 3,100,000,000, which besides did not serve for reparations, but, as provided in the treaty, went to meet the cost of the various armies of occupation. Thus, on May 1, 1921, the moment when the Reparation Commission was obliged by the treaty to fix the amount of the German debt, France had not yet collected one centime for damages.

Before proceeding to fix the amount of the debt the commission had to give the German Government, according to the treaty, "a fair right to be heard." The Reparation Commission devoted twenty-three sessions to a conscientious hearing of thirty-two experts of the Reich. Only after this long work the commission, on April 27, 1921, fixed the reparation debt of Germany at 132,000,000,000 gold marks, current value. Article 233 of the treaty assigns the Reparation Commission another rôle. After having determined the total debt it is required to fix the methods of payment. It began to work out a system. It convoked the German Government to ask for its observations. But at this moment a conference of the allied Governments was going on in London, separate from the commission, and at the suggestion of England this conference undertook to draw up itself a schedule of payments. When it was finished it was communicated to the Reparation Commission with the request that it approve it. This was revealed by M. Dubois, then President of the commission, in the French Chamber. With a good or bad grace, the commission ratified the schedule of payments. It created three series, A, B and C, of obligations, the total of which was 132,000,000,000 gold marks; but, since these obligations carried a very low rate of interest, and as the date of the issue of Series C remained uncertain, the German debt was in fact reduced by a considerable proportion and made it impossible of exact determination.

GERMAN DEBT REDUCED

The allied Governments seemed at first to understand that this reduction of the debt furnished an additional reason to demand thenceforth the execution of the treaty, and so, in

transmitting the schedule to the Reich, they accompanied it with an ultimatum and declared that they were proceeding at once to all the preliminary measures for the occupation of the Ruhr Valley. They added that if Germany did not accept the schedule of payments before May 12 they would proceed on that day to this occupation and, if necessary, take other naval and military measures. France had mobilized the class of 1929. All was ready for the occupation of the Ruhr, when, on the eve of the time limit, May 11, the Chancellor accepted the conditions of the London schedule of payment. He undertook to pay, according to this schedule, a fixed annuity of 2,000,000,000 gold marks plus a mobile annuity of 26 per cent. of the German exportations. How did Germany keep this new engagement? The schedule of payments created by the side of the Reparation Commission a Committee on Guarantees. This committee, armed with insufficient powers, went to Germany. It questioned the Government of the Reich, tried to understand German finances, presented its observations and obtained no satisfaction. The Reparation Commission itself went to Berlin, received only evasive answers, and, returning to Paris, sent on Dec. 2, 1921, a solemn demand to Germany. The Government of the Reich took its time to answer, and when it decided to speak, on Dec. 14, 1921, declared that it found it impossible to pay and asked officially for a moratorium, to which for several months it had made unofficial allusions. The commission protested; it persisted; it let Germany know that on Jan. 15, 1922, it was going to declare her in voluntary default.

THE CANNES CONFERENCE

But a new conference was convoked at the request of the Government of Mr. Lloyd George. It was to be held at Cannes. The Reparation Commission was called to that town and pressed by Mr. Lloyd George to rule at once on the moratorium. In the absence of Mr. Briand, who had returned to Paris, the commission confined itself to taking provisional measures. It called on Germany to pay 31,000,000 marks every ten days and present within fifteen days concrete proposals for a definite settlement. Then it examined at leisure the request of the Reich and on March 21, 1922, accorded Germany a partial moratorium. It was understood that Germany would pay in money in 1922 the sum of 720,000,000 gold marks only, and in kind 1,450,000,000 gold marks. This, by comparison with the schedule of payments, was a new advantage for Germany. But a few weeks later the Reich resumed its dodging. On July 12, 1922, it asked for a larger and prolonged moratorium. The French Government then explained to the British Government, at the conference in London in the month of August, 1922, that we could not consent to a two-year moratorium if Germany did not guarantee us against future defaults by handing over guarantees. Germany pointed to the disarray of her finances in support of her demand and to the fall of her money and her economic distress. But she had done nothing to establish order in her budget. She had practiced since the ending of the war a policy of waste and dilapidation. She had kept the cost of transportation lower than anywhere else. She had increased the number and the pay of her officials. She had wasted in the collection of her taxes, giving all sorts of privileges and immunities to her great steel manufacturers and shipbuilders. She had rebuilt a great merchant fleet which at this moment rivals the fleet of England and ours in all American waters. She had dug canals and had increased her telephone system—in brief, she had undertaken, without calculating, all sorts of public works which France today is obliged to postpone. To meet these expenses Germany embarked on a career of formidable inflation. She listened neither to the advice nor the warnings of the Committee on Guarantees and the Reparation Commission. She made no reform.

To the end of 1922 Germany did not cease aggravating her financial, economic and monetary situation. She persisted in abuses. She

gave full elbow room to her chiefs of industry. They became more and more powerful in the Government and enriched themselves at the expense of the German people. Under their pressure the Government of the Reich, instead of trying to bring back the securities and other valuables they had exported, persisted in a policy of disordered inflation, and from the month of December, 1922, the indefinite depreciation of the mark increased the cost of living, and the economic and financial disorders were such that they were bringing Germany day by day nearer to the most lamentable catastrophe. On Nov. 13, 1922, the Government of Dr. Wirth sent to the Reparation Commission a note, later approved by Chancellor Cuno, which can be summed up in a few words. Germany declared she could do no more without restoring her money and stabilizing the mark, and to make this stabilization she asked a reduction, or, as she said euphemistically, a revision and definite fixation of her debt. She asked to be freed for three or four years of all payments, payments in kind, as well as money. She would make, she said, an exception for the devastated regions, but on condition that she be authorized to pay only to aid the budget resources and domestic loans. This was in reality to promise nothing. Germany asked besides a conversion conference of international financiers to examine the means of saving Europe and Germany. Germany promised no reforms but proposed these conditions: Revision of the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921, reduction of the German debt and a moratorium. However, the experts which the Reich had just consulted had all proclaimed the need of radical reforms by Germany. Cassel and Keynes said: "The stabilization of the mark should in the first place come from our own resources and our own efforts as well as from the energetic action of our Government. Germany should have her own policy of reconstruction. This policy, even though it is risky, is the only path to follow."

Germany made none of the efforts asked of her. At the same time she had stopped payments of money. Of 720,000,000 marks gold, to which had been reduced her money debt for 1922, she had paid only 450,000,000. Two hundred and seventy millions which were to have been paid after Aug. 15 were transformed into six months' bonds and she declared she could not continue payments. As for payments in kind, which she could at least furnish without difficulty and in compensation, she let them slow up voluntarily, as the Reparation Commission officially declared in a series of decisions in January, 1923. Several days later the Reparation Commission was obliged to go further and declare a general default by the Reich for all obligations contracted by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. All these decisions were taken by a majority of three votes in the Reparation Commission, those of France, Belgium and Italy. In the conferences at London and Paris, held in December, 1922, and at the beginning of January, 1923, the Government of the republic announced to Bonar Law, then British Prime Minister, that in view of this situation it was going to be obliged to seize guarantees and occupy the Ruhr. The French Government considered, and still considers, that that one alone of successive decisions of the Reparation Commission is sufficient to give it the right to act.

Premier Poincaré here quotes paragraphs 17 and 18 from annex 2 of the Versailles Treaty, as follows:

PROVISIONS OF VERSAILLES TREATY

17. In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this part of the present treaty, the commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18. The measures which the allied and asso-

clated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

M. Poincaré then continues:

This text is clear, and if any reference to the League of Nations was allowed on a measure taken in consequence of this text, on the pretext that it threatened war, it is evident that it would result in suppression pure and simple. It is all the more natural that the respective Governments should consider a seizure pledge as necessitated by the circumstances, as Article 240 of the treaty provides that for the settlement of reparations all possessions and resources of the empire and German States should be considered as a first mortgage. The British Government today contests the right of France. It appears it does not argue that France is not qualified to act alone without it. Following the decision, rendered regularly by the Reparation Commission, France was perfectly authorized to act alone, and all the more so with the concurrence of Belgium and the technical participation of Italy. On this point, indeed, the British Government itself decided the question. On Oct. 29, 1920, it informed its allies that it renounced the rights conferred upon it by paragraphs 17 and 18 so far as concerned the seizure of German property in the United Kingdom, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared in the House of Commons on Oct. 28, 1920, in these terms: "Section 18 clearly leaves to each of the respective Governments the task of determining what action may appear to it necessary by virtue of the said paragraph." No doubt is, therefore, possible with regard to this interpretation. But the British Government today argues that the words, which are so broad and comprehensive, "in general such other measures as they may estimate necessitated by the circumstances," do not take into account territorial seizure.

During the conference of London, however, in March, 1921, Dr. Simons protested against sanctions contained in the ultimatum of March 3, formulated by Mr. Lloyd George; he notably argued that Paragraph 18 of Annex 2 did not authorize occupation of German territory beyond the left bank of the Rhine and bridgeheads. But as the Allies were assured of the juridic value of their arguments, Dr. Simons's allegations were not taken into account in the reply which Mr. Lloyd George made the same day to the German delegation, and the British Prime Minister did not even allude to the objection raised by the Foreign Minister of the Reich. In order to give to the text limiting signification the British Government brings neither proofs nor evidence; and for good reason. There is nothing to justify the thesis of the British Government. But the British Government argues that, in fact, if the Allies did previously foresee and even effect territorial occupation other than those stipulated in the treaty, it was because then the matter was not only of default with regard to reparations but of other violations of the treaty. Now, it is very true that at all periods, and still today, Germany has violated clauses of the treaty other than those which affect reparations, and it is also certain that with regard to reparations themselves the Allies have again and again menaced Germany with fresh territorial occupations, and once even they carried out their threat. Let us recall the precedent: In July, 1920, at the conference at Spa the question of coal was discussed. By a letter of June 13, 1920, the Reparation Commission notified the allied Governments of German default with regard to delivery of coal. The letter terminates with the two following paragraphs:

"In view of these facts the Reparation Commission, applying the prescriptions of Paragraphs 17 and 18, Annex 2, Part 8, of the Versailles Treaty, declares and notifies the in-

terested powers of Germany's default with regard to the execution of obligations incumbent on her by virtue of the disposition of Annex 5, Part 8, of the said treaty.

"The commission does not think it necessary to make proposals regarding the measures to be taken by reason of this failure in execution, but estimates, in view of the general interest attaching to the supply of coal due for reparations, that it would be desirable that these measures should be taken by common accord by the interested powers."

FIRST THREAT TO OCCUPY THE RUHR

The Spa conference examined the German default, and decided (protocol of July 16) that the German Government should place monthly at the disposal of the Allies, beginning Aug. 1 and for the six following months, two million tons of coal quantity. Approved by the Reparation Commission. The protocol ends with the following paragraph:

"If on the date of Nov. 15, 1920, it is found that the total deliveries August, September and October, 1920, have not reached 6,000,000 tons, the Allies will proceed to the occupation of a new part of German territory, the District of the Ruhr or any other."

Another protocol of the conference at Spa, dated July 9, and without doubt relating to the disarmament, ends also with the following phrase: "If at any date before Jan. 1, 1921, the interallied commissions of control in Germany find that the terms of the present arrangement are not being loyally executed, the Allies will proceed to the occupation of a new part of German territory, either the region of the Ruhr or any other, and will evacuate it only on the day when all the conditions specified above have been completely fulfilled."

But the two protocols, of July 9 and July 16, are different. They bear no reference to each other; occupation of the Ruhr is provided for either in the case of failure to deliver coal or in the case of failure to decide. At this date England was entirely in accord with France on the interpretation of Paragraphs 17 and 18 of Annex 2. The Conference of London in March, 1921, approved the same policy. Mr. Lloyd George, President of the Supreme Council, made on March 3, 1921, the following declaration to the German delegation: "The Treaty of Versailles has been signed for scarcely two years, and the German Government has repeatedly failed in the execution of its most important stipulations: the handing over for judgment of the war-guilty; disarmament; payment in money and kind. Taking into account the infractions already committed and the determination shown in the German counter-proposals to defy the Allies anew, we have taken the decision of occupying the towns of Duisburg, Ruhrort and Düsseldorf." As the German Government did not reply within the time fixed, the occupation of these three towns was effected. Doubtless there were in this case other violations of the treaty to be laid to the charge of Germany, but the reparations debt is insistently cited, and it is to the delay of Germany and the necessity of restoring the devastated regions that almost all Mr. Lloyd George's speech is devoted. If the question of reparations had not been at stake the three towns would certainly not have been occupied.

Premier Poincaré cites also the decision of the Supreme Council on May 5, 1921, which again threatened Germany with the occupation of the Ruhr on the triple question of disarmament, reparations and judgment of the war-guilty unless certain conditions were fulfilled. "From every point of view," M. Poincaré concludes, "the legality of our action defies criticism." On the question of the occupation of the Ruhr the Premier continues:

We have occupied the Ruhr because during the last three years Germany has fulfilled none of her obligations. We have occupied it because the Reparation Commission, in declaring the failure of Germany, has given us the express right to act. It is clear that if we had had, as is insinuated, political or military intentions we would not have occupied the Ruhr. We would in that case have occupied the valley of the Main, because this valley, which separates Bavaria from Prussia, cuts Germany in two. We did not do that because we wished to occupy territories without an *arrière pensée*, because we had no other intention than to seize pledges and exercise pressure on recalcitrant Germany. The Ruhr basin is the principal economic centre of Germany. Today we occupy this region, which is so dense and active, peopled by 6,000,000 inhabitants, with an army of 50,000 men. But we were disposed to put in movement a much smaller force of effectives. We did not desire, anyway, to undertake a military operation. Our troops went into the Ruhr only to protect our engineers, our customs officers, our forest officers. It was not with the military that the Germans had to deal at first. It was these engineers and customs officers who addressed them and proposed to them at the very beginning the following régime: Nothing should be changed in the normal life or economic activity of the country; a commission of allied engineers should simply control the operations of the coal syndicate with a view to assuring the regular deliveries of the quantities of coal and coke due from Germany; the same commission should control the industrial production of the Ruhr factories, supervise the collection of the coal tax, of which all or part should have been handed to the Reparation Commission; the customs men should assure, in co-operation with the German customs agents, the collection of certain taxes of which the product should also go to pay reparations; lastly, the Forestry Commission should control the exploitation of State forests by German foresters, so as to assure the delivery of timber in accordance with the treaty. In a word, it was an amiable arrangement for pacific collaboration which we sincerely offered Germany on entering the Ruhr.

RESISTANCE DIRECTED FROM BERLIN

But contrary to Paragraph 18, Annex 2, the Government of the Reich pretended to consider the occupation of the Ruhr as an act of hostility. It used this pretext, which is a negation of the treaty, to get out of its best established obligations. It stopped all deliveries of coal and coke, and began to treat the French and Belgians like veritable enemies. It has used against us resistance which it calls passive, but which has been active and violent. This resistance has not come from the population of the Ruhr; it has not come from the Rhineland population, but has come from certain industrialists, and from Berlin. It was on orders from Berlin that all collaboration with the Belgians, Italians and French was repulsed. It was on orders from Berlin that the proprietors of the mines and steel mills would not confer with our commission and closed the doors of their establishments. On orders from Berlin the employees of the posts, the telegraphs and the telephones stopped giving communications to the French and Belgians and refused to transport our letters and transmit our telegrams. On an order from Berlin, railway men deserted their trains loaded with food for our troops, prevented the occupation authorities from entering the stations and stopped shipments of coal and coke to Belgium and France. The Government of the Reich did not content itself with ordering resistance. It went further and decreed severe punishments against all its citizens who showed good faith toward us, or even indifference. It revoked officials, imprisoned private individuals and fined them. Bands of agitators and criminals were formed, who sought to destroy the railroads and canals and to blow up trains with explosives; and when they tried that at Düssel-

dorf in May, Schlaegtter and his accomplices declared that they were in relation with an office established at Hamm by a Minister of the Reichswehr.

It was certainly legitimate that in the presence of such facts the Government of the Republic considered that the cessation of passive resistance was a prior condition to any new conversation with the Government of the Reich. Not only is passive resistance contrary to the peace treaty, but contrary to the evident interest of Germany, whom it costs more dearly than the performance of her obligations. The present situation, all in all, has profited only the Rivals of the Ruhr industrialists—the sellers of coal and metal products. The French Government hopes it will end. But as indicated to the British Government in its communications of June 10 and 12, once passive resistance is ended the Ruhr occupation will be modified. France will continue progressive evacuation as payments are made on conditions different from those of today. We are willing to resume collaboration with the German organization, and that will bring a considerable reduction in the cost of occupation. We refer you to Documents 23 and 25 of our last Yellow Book, which indicate in detail the measures to be taken to accord guarantees to German authorities for exploitation, and those measures which may be taken to favor the Germans expelled. It would be superfluous to repeat these indications, which fill several pages of the Yellow Book, and which show abundantly the conciliatory intentions of France. Let us recall that when it will be no longer necessary to protect the mines, railroads and canals against sabotage, our troops will have a minimum contact with the working population. We also explained in Document 25 the conditions in which the Ruhr can be progressively evacuated as payments are made. We repeat once more that we have no desire to remain in the Ruhr longer than necessary, and that we have no political aims, nor annexation intents. We know perfectly well that Germany can pay quickly enough what she owes us, and that consequently she is mistress of obtaining progressive evacuation. The time in which the payments asked will be made depends on the will of Germany. Suffice it to see the rapidity with which Austria, when she wished, saw that the necessary effort was made. In spite of her faults, her geographic and economic situation, she recovered her faculty of production and her credit. Thus it is seen what a country as powerfully equipped as Germany can accomplish when she wishes to. In any case France will not change her position on this point. To ask her to do otherwise would be to give Germany a victory, and then one could recall the word pronounced by Mr. Lloyd George in the Supreme Council, March 3, 1921: "It would be the conquerors who would pay the cost of defeat and the conquered who would reap the fruits of victory."

It is not true that the French claims are of a nature to crush Germany and exceed her capacity for payment. For long months France has repeatedly proposed to her allies a very simple, a very clear and a very modest program which conforms with the schedule of payments and which can be put in a few words. She has asked her allies, if they refuse priority for reparations, at least to maintain her part of A and B obligations, which is the twenty-six billion marks gold she would obtain from the Spa percentage and to keep for her from the C obligations the sums demanded of her for inter-allied debts. The schedule of payments guaranteed her as a minimum these two rights and, indeed, the total obligation would leave her an additional margin. She has advanced enormous sums on the account of Germany. She will neither interrupt the work of reparation nor continue it indefinitely at her own expense. On the other hand, France has never repudiated debts she contracted during the war, either from America or from England in the interest of a common victory. Besides, she is a creditor for five or six billion gold marks, which she advanced to her allies during the war. These

credits and these debts among the Allies represent generally purchases of arms, material and munitions and the feeding of the armies which fought fraternally, side by side, and they constitute almost the entire collective war cost.

THE PROCLAMATION OF SOLIDARITY.

However, on March 28, 1916, the representatives of the allied Governments in conference decided to put into practice in the economic domain their solidarity of view and of interests, and they arranged an economic conference to be held in Paris to propose proper measures to realize that solidarity. The conference was opened at Paris on June 14, 1916, under the Presidency of Premier Briand. It adopted among others this resolution: "Proclaiming their solidarity for the restoration of their territories to the victims of destructions, spoliations and abusive requisitions, the Allies decide to seek in common means to restore these territories on a privilege basis, or to aid them to reconstitute their raw material, industrial and agricultural machinery, their live stock and their merchant fleets." Evidently at that time it was the idea of the Allies that the debts contracted among them for a collective war could not be recovered before payment of reparations. Articles 231 and 232 of the Treaty of Versailles lead to the same conclusions. By virtue of these articles, the victorious nations renounce payment by Germany of their total loss and damages and, in a general manner of their war costs, although in principle they had a right to them. They resign themselves to demand only damages to persons and property. In other words, damages to persons and property had, in the minds of the Allies, priority over war costs. Therefore can these war costs which the Allies put after reparations, after pensions, after damages, as set forth in the treaty, and which they did not ask from Germany, be claimed from each other by the Allies before Germany has paid? In other words, are friends to be treated more severely than the enemy of yesterday? We do not think it possible. While recognizing our debts, while not thinking of leaving them unpaid, we are forced to say that we can pay them only after receiving what Germany owes us. We demand of her, in addition to our share of 26 billion marks of A and B bonds, what will be demanded of us. The less we are asked to pay, the more Germany will be relieved.

Dealing with Germany's capacity for payment the Premier says:

This system, which we have never believed intangible and which is subject to variations, provided that the principles are respected, has the advantage of not entailing any revision of the treaty. On the contrary, the English proposals would have for a consequence the destruction of several of the essential clauses of the diplomatic act signed at Versailles by the Allies. In the execution of this treaty the Reparation Commission has regularly fixed, by its letter of April 28, 1921, the total amount of Germany's obligations, and this figure cannot be revised. Further, the plan of payments of London has already had, as one of its consequences, a considerable alleviation of this debt since, according to certain calculations accepted by the British note and still disputable, the present value of the German debt has been reduced by half by the decision of May 5, 1921. Without taking up a position with regard to these valuations, we merely remark that today, like yesterday and like tomorrow, the Reparation Commission is free to apply Article 2, 3, or 4. That is to say, to examine, or cause to be examined by its experts, the capacity payment of Germany. It can, after this examination and according to the rights conferred upon it by the treaty, lengthen the periods of payment and modify their modalities.

The treaty has, in effect, given to the Reparation Commission all the powers which might be attributed to the commission of international experts proposed by the British Government and by Germany. Paragraph 12 of Annex 2 lays down that the commission "shall have all pow-

ers and exercise all attributes conferred upon it by the present treaty," that it shall have, in a general way, powers of control and of execution of the widest kind concerning the problem of reparations and that it should periodically estimate the capacity of Germany for payment and at the same time examine the German fiscal system. Paragraph 9 stipulates that it shall, from time to time if the German Government demands it, hear the arguments and proofs brought forward by Germany on all questions concerning her capacity of payment. Paragraph 10 adds that it shall accord to the German Government full opportunity of hearing. It must further be remarked that the Reparation Commission is bound by no legislation, by no code, by no special rules and that it must be guided by justice, equity and good faith. [Paragraph 11.] Finally, the German Government recognizes fully the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present treaty. It must furnish it with all the information it may require. [Article 240.] Thus the treaty adopted, with regard to payments, a logical and coherent system. The debt, once fixed, can only be reduced with the unanimous authorization of the allied Governments. [Articles 2, 3 and 4 and Paragraph 13A, Annex 2]; but on the other hand, the capacity payment of Germany must be estimated periodically in order that the payments may be graded, adjusted and modified according to the circumstances, these modifications to be decided by the majority.

ESTIMATING CAPACITY TO PAY

The framers of the treaty thought, with reason, that the capacity of payment of a country was an exceptionally variable thing, that in consequence of this the status of payments must itself be susceptible to change and that it would be the duty of the commission to take into account economic fluctuation, put off the dates of payment at difficult moments and advance them when conditions improved. The idea of estimating, once and for all, the capacity of payment did not enter their heads. They did not understand how international financiers, intelligent or experienced as they might be, could foretell the future and draw definite conclusions from uncertain and provisional data. They would, no doubt, have been still more surprised had one said to them that one would think of undertaking this evaluation at the moment when Germany had succeeded in organizing a momentary bankruptcy and reducing for some time her capacity of payment to nothing. If such an operation were admitted, it would be regarded as a German manoeuvre. Germany would have resisted the Allies; she would have evaded reparations; she would have made her money valueless, thus wiping out all internal debts, and she would then obtain the reduction of her only external debt, that of reparations. She would then start afresh, profiting by her intact machinery, rapidly rising, and confronting her triumphant prosperity with the misery of her creditors.

France certainly does not intend to ruin Germany. On the contrary, it is to her interest that her debtor should reach a state of better fortune, and she knows right well that the collapse of a great nation like Germany would have grave repercussions all over Europe. But the collapse of France would no less have repercussions. It would be as deplorable and would be more unjust. To avoid the ruin of Germany one must not, at the expense of France, and, very soon, at the expense of the other Allies, provide her with means too easy and too sudden of a restoration which would have, as a result, that industrial and commercial hegemony which she vainly strove for on the battlefields. Let us by all means study means for the conciliation and the restoration of Germany and for the payment of reparations. We are quite ready to do this on the very day resistance will have ceased. But do not let reparations be sacrificed to the re-establishment of a source of economic riches which but momentarily is at ebb. In reality, when Germany demands definite valuation of her capacity of payment and

when England herself proposes it, the idea is to reach by a roundabout road a reduction of the debt. But this reduction, if it is judged to be indispensable, can be made tomorrow up to the full measure to which the interallied debts are reduced, and if a joint settlement is undertaken France is quite disposed to facilitate it by correlative abandonment of her own claims on certain allies. There is no need to upset the treaty nor destroy entirely the status of payments. That which France cannot accept is that the reduction of the German debt be made at the cost of reparations. There is besides no reason to entrust this settlement to any other organization than the Reparation Commission. It has always given proof of loyalty, competence and the spirit of justice.

It is true that America, not having ratified the Treaty of Versailles, the preponderant voice of the French President and that of the Belgian delegate may suffice and, as the British Government points out with regret, form a majority, but, in fact, all defaults by Germany were declared by a majority of three votes, including that of the Italian delegate; the majority would, therefore, have existed even if there had been an official American delegate instead of a simple observer. Besides, Belgium and France alone hold 60 per cent. of the claim of the Allies against the Germans. The British Government often accuses the French Government of indulging in abstract theories and of not taking sufficiently into account economic and financial realities. We, too, desire to take up a positive point of view. But if we discuss the matter as business men, what could be said of a company in which the shareholders representing 60 per cent. of the shares could be placed in a minority by others who possessed only 20 per cent.

SECRET DISCUSSION PREFERRED

On these diverse questions, as on all others, we remain disposed to discuss in a friendly spirit with the British Government and our allies, and if we are publishing these notes it is only because we are forced to do so by the publication of the British note. But we believe that in the interests of negotiations, whether they continue tomorrow between the Allies or whether they are begun after the cessation of resistance by Germany, it is preferable that they should be carried on with greater discretion. While we have nothing to fear from these

revelations, even though they may be premature, it was not our fault that they were made.

We ask that the Reparation Commission be allowed to fulfill its mission, that it be strengthened instead of being weakened, that it be permitted to examine the situation in Germany, to estimate periodically her capacity of payment and to modify dates of payment as it may judge convenient.

We ask that during the period necessary for re-establishment of her finances Germany make such reparations in kind and capital as the Reparation Commission may judge possible, the Allies keeping pledges which they hold in common interest.

We wish to pay our debts, both our debts to the United States and debts to Great Britain. We cannot accord preference to one or the other. We can therefore not make ourselves solidary with Germany toward England for the payment of the debt of England to the United States; we cannot, on the other hand, abandon our whole share of bonds for partial settlement of the interallied debts; we should in any case be obliged to come to agreement in advance with the Government of the United States, which also being our creditor has an interest in seeing that our financial position is not made worse.

We repeat besides what we have already pointed out to the British Government and as was explained in the last French Yellow Book [documents Number 23 and 31] we are quite ready to take into account in a general settlement of reparations and of interallied debts the present situation in Germany. It would be easy to come to an agreement for the quickest possible payment of the German debt, which corresponds to the reconstruction of devastated regions, and to adjourn to a determined date the examination by the Reparation Commission of the payment of the second part of the debt. Examination of the payment of the war debts would be by common accord adjourned to the same date. We do not suppose that England desires to demand payment of the interallied debts before payment of the reparations. She will certainly be the first to understand that in order to acquit herself France must first recover her full productivity and repair her disasters and place herself in a position to compete with equality with her German rivals. The interest of England is without doubt that Germany recover; it is certainly not that France should sink.

RAYMOND POINCARE.



The transformation of the Krupp works in Germany from munitions factories into plants for peaceful requirements is illustrated by this photograph of one of the workshops formerly used for the manufacture of shrapnel, but now devoted to the production of agricultural machinery

THE NEAR EAST AFTER LAUSANNE

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS
Professor of History, University of Minnesota

Racial and religious animosities that remain in spite of the Turkish peace settlement—The possibility that Greece will fight again—Reasons for believing that the Turks are not yet a civilized nation

ON July 24, 1923, the Western Powers and the Ottoman Turks signed the long expected and long delayed Treaty of Lausanne, and the last relics of the World War were officially liquidated. It is worth while to see where the Balkan and Levantine peoples now stand after conditions of hostility which for them have continued almost unbroken since 1912.

When Turkey entered the World War in November, 1914, The London Times voiced the united opinion of pro-Entente circles: "Turkey has pronounced her own doom * * * soon the Ottoman race will be relegated to the obscure valleys of Asia Minor." In January, 1917, the allied Governments officially assured the United States that one of their chief war aims was "the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks [and] the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Turks decidedly alien to Western civilization." The United States for reasons still obscure did not declare war on Turkey, but the reported saying of Roosevelt that "it would be a crime against civilization to leave the Turks in Europe" undoubtedly represented the dominant American opinion. A kind of implied contract seemed to exist with France and Great Britain that if we would only see them through on the western front, Turkey would be compelled to cease forever from troubling the world. That hope has evaporated. The Ottoman still controls a pretentious State. A "New Turkey" confronts the Occidental powers as a demanding and self-confident equal. After infinite higgling a treaty has been

signed which undoubtedly gives extreme mortification to many of its European negotiators, and which proclaims that Great Britain at least is so war-weary that she will put up with many grievous things for the sake of peace.

Is this Treaty of Lausanne a real solution of the sore troubles of the Near East, marking, in the closing words of the delegates, "the definite re-establishment of peace in the world," or is it merely an imperfect truce, giving the evil forces in the Levant new chances to resume their deviltry? The answer comes best by examining the racial elements still left facing one another in the eastern Mediterranean lands in the Summer of 1923.

The revival of the Ottoman State after its abject surrender in 1918 is, of course, one of the most astonishing reversals in history. It is the direct result of a series of blunders committed by the victorious powers so astonishing as to seem almost the result of genius. The Turks were first outraged and exploited, and then were carefully taught to feel that their conquerors were war-weary, preoccupied and at strife among themselves. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that in the old Ottoman homeland at Angora, near the battlefield itself of Bayezid I. and Timur the Tartar, the leaders of the military and masterful race which had ruled the Levant for centuries, should re-erect their Crescent standard, organize a Government, and, more important still, create a powerful army. The personal genius of Mustafa Kemal contributed much. The Ottoman loves a valorous *seraskier* (high commander), and the Angora leader has lived

up to the militant traditions of an empire created by three of the most efficient warriors the world has ever seen—Osman I., Mohammed II., and Solyman I. Neither was the display of national spirit which swept Kemal on to victory unprecedented in Turkish annals. For example, the popular movements which brought in the great Kiuprili Viziers in 1656, which forced the Porte to defy Russia in 1853 and 1875, and in 1909 deposed Abdul Hamid "the Damned" have shown in the past what the Ottoman people could do when Giaours ("Hell-doomed Infidels") seemed trampling upon the faithful. The recent leaders were indeed driven to new methods. There were fewer appeals to the Koran and more to the doctrine of "self-determination." The Sultans had failed to protect the State; therefore, other types of rulers were needful, but the old basis of a patriotic national sentiment was essentially the same.

Since the "turn of the tide," when the Turks fled from before Vienna in 1683, their empire has dwindled to a mere fraction of its once sprawling bulk. While the loss long ago, say, of Hungary was grievous to the Sultans and their Pashas it did not arouse the peasants of Phrygia or the easy-going mosque ministers of Brusa. The Christian populations of the lost provinces, of course, rejoiced in the change. But in 1919 the Turks were invaded in their very homelands of Anatolia. All the outlying regions seemed gone. The Giaours were despoiling lands where the bulk of the populations, despite the "minorities," was devoutly Moslem. Anatolia was the last great territory of the Ottoman Nation. The Turks were roused to further fury by the intervention of the Greeks. Venizelos threw for very high stakes in 1919-20, and for a while the success of Greece was by no means impossible. Perhaps it was only the death of King Alexander that prevented Athens from becoming the capital of a real Levantine empire. Nevertheless, the Western statesmen took a great and an evil risk when they invited the Greeks, a small and rather unmilitary nation, to act as gendarmes in Anatolia where they refused to intervene efficiently themselves.

GRECO-TURKISH FEUDS

Betwixt Hellene and Ottoman there was all the hatred between Belfast and Dublin with Levantine specialties added. The Turks despised the Greeks as slippery, misbelieving traders and as successfully rebellious *rayahs* (serfs). The Greeks had been brought up on such stories as the massacre of Chios (1822), the ravaging of the Morea by Ibrahim Pasha (1827), and countless later tales of Moslem tender mercies. The most righteous litigant should not be made the Sheriff to collect his own debt. Irrespective of the evidence, it was in advance probable that the Greek soldiery would mete out long accumulated arrears of vengeance upon the Turkish Anatolian villages. Two wrongs never make one right. The Ottomans were inevitably driven to fury. In 1921 the Greek advance on Angora failed. In 1922 the Greeks were flung out of Asia Minor. The ruins of Christian Smyrna ("Infidel Smyrna" the Turks angrily used to call it) have recently ceased smoking. Without stating details or quoting Professor A. J. Toynbee's opinion (CURRENT HISTORY, July, 1923, p. 545) I believe firmly that the Turkish plea of "not guilty" for the fate of Smyrna will hardly stand at the judgment bar of history. Besides the disinterested American evidence, the standardized usages of Ottoman armies in dealing with captured cities have to be taken into full account. About 1,500,000 Greeks have been reported as expelled from Asia and Thrace into the Greek kingdom in exchange for some 300,000 Turks. Between one and two millions of Armenians have "disappeared." No competent statistics, of course, exist for the number of kidnapped Greek and Armenian women who will end their days in what can only be described as "slave concubinage." There is every reason for believing that their multitude is great. This is a tender point with the Turks, of course, and subject to vigorous denials:—but where are these women? In 1919-22 the Western powers failed to award the Ottomans that firm "justice" which the Oriental recognizes and submits to in good faith: they merely threatened them with a crude exploitation. The Ottomans therefore solved the problem in their accustomed

way. Using the indignant words of old Tacitus, once again the Turks "have made a solitude and called it peace."

The ink has just dried on the State papers signed at Lausanne. Are the old racial feuds healed? What international rivalries are left smouldering? How far can the "New Turkey" avoid the old miseries of the "Sick Man of Europe?" What, in short, is the general situation in the three most interested Christian kingdoms and in Turkey itself?

Taking Yugoslavia first, we find that the expanded kingdom of old Serbia ought to be what Bismarck called a territorially "satiated State." The 11,500,000 inhabitants of this new country include nearly 1,500,000 very uneasy Germans, Magyars, Rumanians and Albanians. M. Pashitch, the very astute Premier, is being taxed to hold the loyalty even of the South Slavic Croats. If Yugoslavia is wise, she will for many years concentrate upon the problem of internal consolidation. Italy is a formidable and a very jealous neighbor. Yugoslavia, however, is fortunately a self-contained agricultural nation. The economic situation seems relatively good. The national boundaries do not touch Turkey directly. If there is a new war in the Levant it will probably not begin now in the kingdom which includes fateful *Serajevo*.

Bulgaria is much smaller now than her South Slav neighbor, and is defeated and unhappy. But Bulgaria is also a nation of thrifty small farmers and is fairly well off economically. There are some 400,000 Mohammedans, but they seem on tolerably good terms with the Christian majority. The recovery of the Bulgarian-speaking part of the Macedonians from Greece or Yugoslavia must wait the chances of another general war, but a more immediate need is an outlet upon the Aegean. By a Themistoclean trick at Lausanne, Venizelos conceded his Turkish foes the port of *Dedeagatch* and its railroad, a harbor of little value to Greece but the logical door on the Aegean for Bulgaria. The possibilities of lining up the Bulgarian against the Ottoman in the "next war" have thus been incalculably increased. The recent revolution directed against the *Stambulsky* régime indicates,

however, that Bulgaria is likely to be involved for the present in her own internal sorrows. The existing boundaries very probably will last for some time.

CONSTANTINE'S DISASTROUS POLICY

Let us now turn to Greece. A year ago the Athens politicians dreamed of ruling over Anatolia from redeemed Constantinople. That dream has ended in tragedy. Eastern Thrace is lost. The nation is war-weary, economically demoralized and sadly disillusioned. It will take a decade for Greece to recover from King Constantine's policy of adventure and, toward its end, of crass foolishness. But Greece is not broken. She is infinitely stronger than that pitiful little kingdom of brigands and corsairs that was set up in 1830. The population of 4,800,000 is now reasonably homogeneous, although there are enough Albanians in Epirus and "Bulgarophones" (a euphemism for Bulgarians who ungraciously refuse to be Hellenized) in Macedonia to create a heavy problem. Far worse is the disheartening task of providing for over a million refugees from Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Yet there seem to be clear signs that the country is recovering and facing the future. Greek commerce and shipping are rich assets. The country cannot be conquered beyond a certain point by an enemy bereft of sea-power and the Greek fleet is the only real navy in the Levant. With all their faults, the results of 2,000 years under Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman despotism, and disheartening displays of barbarism, as just now in Epirus, the Greeks can on the whole claim to be the most advanced nation in the Near East. Their free economic contacts with the West will probably make that claim grow stronger. The war, however, leaves Greece in a most unrestful position. A great opportunity for a real empire was almost grasped. Instead of that, a horde of refugees has been dumped upon her shores with an unforgettable story of defeat, expulsion and massacre. Just as the Turkish possession of Crete embittered Ottoman-Hellenic relations for over fifty years, until the Crescent left the "Great Greek Island" in 1912, so the renewed bondage of Smyrna will inflame for decades a very



A simplified racial map of the Ottoman Empire in its boundaries of 1923 (indicated by a heavy black line). The portions shaded with horizontal lines and those that are unshaded are where the Christian minorities amounted to one-fifth of the total population before the massacres and deportations of 1915-23.

deep wound. And behind Smyrna is still the unquenchable hope of seeing the Cross again raised above the dome of Sancta Sophia. Greece has sought peace eagerly at Lausanne, for the nation is today spent and weary, but she seems no more contented really with the present settlement than was exhausted France in 1871. A new Alsace-Lorraine problem seems to have been deliberately created with religious hatreds added. The treaty will probably last until Greece can recuperate. After that let the diplomats watch out. The "New Turkey" faces the world handicapped by the standing hatred of her nearest neighbor. If the great feud between France and Germany is one of the most sorrowful and vital features of world politics, the more local feud between Greece and Turkey seems likely to embitter all the life of the Near East. Lausanne leaves this more unappeased than ever.

The present Ottoman dominions at least contain few districts or vilayets wherein the Moslems (Turks or Kurds) have not for long formed a majority. The Armenians to their undoing have never occupied any large districts wherein, if put in power, a Christian minority would not have ruled a great number of non-Christians,

and Talaat Pasha and his successors labored not ineffectively to "arrange" the Armenian problem so that, as he cheerfully put it, "no Armenian could utter the word autonomy for at least fifty years." Some 300,000 Greeks also seem to have been "removed" prior to the great deportations. The Armenian and Greek villages lie desolate or are possessed by Moslems, reaping where the slain or banished long have sown. Nevertheless, there is still an alien problem to vex the Angora rulers. The huge "Pharnariot" [local Greek] colony at Constantinople could not be uprooted. Its economic importance is indispensable. Peace-time tolerance and the ever-efficient bribery (the eternal mitigant to many forms of Oriental tyranny) will probably bring back very many Armenian craftsmen and merchants to the Anatolian cities. More dangerous still to the Angora modernizers are the 2,000,000 Kurds in the Cappadocian mountains. They are indeed Moslems, but untamed highlanders and usually as violently hostile to "Turkification" as were the Sultan's ex-subjects, the Albanians. The Albanians were lost to the empire largely because of tactless "reform" edicts from Constantinople. The Kurds, the race of the mighty Saladin, will hardly prove

more submissive to innovating orders from Angora. The new Turkey also faces the small Soviet Republic of Armenia with an area of 15,000 square miles and a population of 1,200,000, directed from Moscow, but with a good deal of local autonomy exercised from Erivan. This humble State constitutes a possible Savoy for an Armenia Irridenta. Around it Armenian hopes and intrigues can cluster, and when the Muscovite resumes (and resume he will) his long, inevitable march toward "Tsargrad" (Constantinople), Russian Armenia constitutes an excellent approach, moral and military, for the invasion of Anatolia.

THE PRESENT TURKISH PEOPLE

There remains to the rulers of the "New Turkey" an assured Ottoman population of about 10,000,000 in Anatolia, Stamboul and Thrace. Upon these the Kemalists (to quote a recent Angora decree) will "concentrate their efforts to develop the Turkish homelands according to the standards of modern civilization." Mustafa Kemal has good officers, but still better press agents. According to them Turkey has become overnight almost a Westernized country, with free parliamentarism substituted for the Grand Vizier, Chief Eunuch and the Five Black Mutes, and with the women rejoicing in all the liberties of their American sisters. In short, we are to believe that Angora and Stamboul are becoming new editions of New York or Paris, with merely local variations. Is this conceivable? How far has Western liberalism superseded the mandates of the Koran or the ordinances of Solyman the Lawgiver? Can the New Turkey prove an exception to what Herbert Spencer has stated as an eternal truth, that the fundamental nature of a social structure can never be changed by any abrupt revolution?

First of all, who actually are the Turks? What is their political promise as a race? Biologically they are the same today as yesterday: the Koran they can repudiate, but not their blood heritage. The Turks are descendants of Turanian nomads who in the eleventh and succeeding centuries overran Anatolia, blotting out the old Graeco-Byzantine civilization. The orig-

inal "Seljuk" Turks appeared in the eleventh century, their kinsmen and successors, the "Osmanli" ("Ottoman") Turks in the thirteenth and fourteenth. In the fourteenth century they spread into Europe. Their original culture was that of the Mongol and Tartar hordes with their far-conquering Grand Khans. Attila's Huns were probably not alien to them in race, language, barbarous social habits and enormous genius for war. Thanks to forced conversions, female slavery, the immediate gains from embracing Islam and other circumstances, these invaders from the Asian steppes were largely diluted by survivors of the older Anatolian population. Still more certain, however, it is that from first to last the Ottoman nation and its rulers have shown themselves true heirs to the spirit of Inner Asia, the Asia of Jenghiz Khan and Hulagu. Like all Turanians they have excelled as warriors and as almost nothing else.

Long existence as a "master race" has given the Turks delightful manners to equals, a non-Levantine commercial inefficiency and honesty, a love of sensuous luxuries, and a certain reverence for traditional learning. But the Turk's religion comes from Arabia, his literature and science from Syria and Persia, his art and architecture from the Byzantines and the Saracens. The Sultans have usually had to employ infidel architects for the very mosques and palaces beside the Bosphorus. In short, the cultural development of the Turks has been very much less than that of their fellow-Moslems, the Arabs, Egyptians and Persians. At Versailles in 1919 the Council of Ten summed up correctly a long, sorrowful history: "There has no case been found either in Europe or Asia or Africa, in which the establishment of Turkish rule has not been followed by a diminution of material prosperity and a fall in the level of culture. * * * [Nowhere] has the Turk done other than destroy wherever he has conquered." Nothing has occurred since 1919 to make this statement untrue. So far as the Ottomans are not Turanians but old-line Anatolians they come again of races never the leaders in civilization. The greatest Anatolian figure before the Sultans was perhaps Mithridates Eupator

famous (and worthless) "fundamental reform" of 1856, the abortive "Constitution of 1876," the revived "Constitution of 1908"—these are some of the imposing predecessors of the well-intentioned edicts of 1922-23. The fact that these new documents come from a National Assembly and not from a Sultan does not destroy the fact that they must be executed by men trained only in the usages of despotism, and steeped in traditions of corruption, backsheesh and congenital procrastination. Shortly before his death Lord Bryce, after an intensive examination, wrote: "The record of the rulers of Turkey, from the Sultan on his throne to the district gendarme, is, taken as a whole, almost an unbroken record of corruption, of injustice, or an oppression which often arises into hideous cruelty. * * * Can any one still continue to hope that the evils of such a Government are curable?" Moreover, the new reforms promulgated by the National Assembly come at a moment when the Turks have banished the greater part of the most intelligent, progressive and economically efficient races in their territories. Inevitably, after the first flush of triumph is over, the Kemalists must reckon with the Old Turk traditionalists, with the issue uncertain. Already ugly stories come from Angora of the "vanishing" of political opponents, the revolver possibly replacing the bowstring. If at any time the process of "modernization" breaks down the country falls into confusion, and especially if the new Ottoman army seems demoralized, the Greek cry for *révanche* will rise again confidently. Then a new explosion can easily shatter the Near East.

That is one clear possibility, or Russia may very likely recover and resume her great march southward. Then Armenia and Smyrna will enjoy at least this poor vengeance—Great Britain will think hard ere she lets a new Disraeli threaten war to rescue the Turk again from the Muscovite.

The new treaty is the direct product of the fact, that, as ex-Ambassador Morgenthau has very recently put it, "the Turk was the only man at Lausanne who was ready to use his guns." Great Britain has submitted, none too gloriously, quite manifestly to avoid a new war. The latest arrangement shows every whit as many surface signs of infirmity as the oft-berated Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which gave barely seven years of nominal peace to the Near East ere its boundaries began to be "retraced in blood." The Turks (far less capable culturally than the Arabs, Egyptians, Persians or Hindus) have been rehabilitated as a political and military power, strategically located and able to spread again their old feuds and animosities to the Christian and Moslem States which must be their neighbors. This is no cheerful saying, but by no legerdemain can the spirit of a nation be transformed overnight. The New Turkey, however, is in being. If it can actually give peace to the Levant and progress to its inhabitants, the most skeptical observers will rejoice at their false prophecies. Nevertheless, for some years the Angora reforms must bear all the signs of a desperate attempt "to put new wine into old bottles." There is high authority, although not Moslem authority, for saying that the thing cannot be done.



HISTORY'S VERDICT ON NEW TURKEY'S RISE TO POWER

By ARTHUR TREMAINE CHESTER

The dramatic story of Turkish achievement since the days of Abdul Hamid told by the son of Rear Admiral Colby M. Chester after fifteen years' residence at Constantinople—New Turkey at last an autonomous, democratic State—Gigantic legend of Turkish atrocities denied

BY the settlements concluded at Lausanne, Turkey enters upon an entirely new phase of her national history. After centuries of autocracy the Turks have succeeded in establishing a representative democracy. For the first time in Turkish annals they have won their battle against predatory Western capitalism and have established their newly risen State upon the principle of national sovereignty. The system of capitulations and foreign courts has been given its death blow; the Straits issue and vexing financial problems have been adjusted, and the thorny problem of racial minorities has been solved to the satisfaction of New Turkey.

The progress achieved since the close of the war has been little less than gigantic. The Sèvres Treaty left Turkey crushed and impotent. A new Government has been formed; the forces of Mustapha Kemal have defied the Allies and beaten the Greek armies in the open field; the Sultan has been deposed, and peace has been made with the Allies on a progressive and autonomous basis.

The story of the old Turkey's destruction and of the rise of a new, vigorous, democratic power has an element of fascination when viewed from the perspective of recent achievement. Hitherto that story has been marred by the interpretations of persons hostile to Turkey and biased by political or religious prejudices, or by economic and financial interests. A fair and impartial record of Turkey's achievement from the time of ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid to the present has never yet been presented. What are the uncolored facts?

Shortly after Abdul Hamid became Sultan a Constitution was promulgated by the Turks. Its life was short, however, and, thrusting it aside, he took to himself all the powers of absolutism. His haunting fear was an uprising of the Turks, and to prevent this he inaugurated the most drastic regulations and restrictions. Even education and means of communication were discouraged. Turks were practically isolated from each other, as all assemblages, dinners and social meetings required the presence of a representative of the palace to prevent police interference. The country was filled with spies, mostly Greeks, Armenians and aliens, 30,000 of whom were in Constantinople alone. These vultures received their remuneration by blackmailing Turks. If a Turk acquired any money, the first spy who discovered the fact forced him to give up the greater part. There was no chance of escape and no redress. A report against him, no matter how false, was never investigated, and he simply disappeared. A foreign newspaper containing an article against the Sultan, "planted" on his person or in his house, resulted in his body floating down the Bosphorus shortly afterward.

The Turk could not do business, for it necessitated his dealing with his countrymen, which drastic restrictions made impossible. The result was that the greater part of the Turks either drove cabs, worked isolated farms or took positions in the Government offices, where they were crowded together in small quarters, with little or nothing to do on account of their excessive numbers, and miserably and irregularly paid. Many escaped to Europe

with what money they had and educated their children in foreign schools.

THE "YOUNG TURK" REVOLUTION

When, where and by whom the "Young Turk" movement was started was not known by the rank and file of its members. It was, of necessity, one of the most secret organizations ever formed. No one except the inner committee knew more than four others—the one who had initiated him and the three to whom he passed on the plans and aspirations. I know a man who was not aware of the fact that his own father was a member until after the Constitution was established. Unlike other revolutions, there were no known leaders, no outstanding figure or figures whose characters and abilities had been tested and constituted an inspiration. The movement was based entirely on principle, patriotism and a determination to obtain liberty and establish a Constitution.

Enver Pasha, then a young officer in Saloniki, was very active in organizing the army planned by the leaders of the movement, and, when it succeeded, he became a national character. At that time, in a speech, he said, as quoted by Mr. Morgenthau, then Ambassador to Turkey: "Today arbitrary government has disappeared. We are all brothers. There are no longer in Turkey, Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbians, Rumanians, Mussulmans or Jews. Under the same blue sky we are all proud to be Ottomans." This was the original spirit of the movement, and immediate steps were taken to transform the principle formulated into fact. The Turks had absolute control of the country, but among their nominations of candidates for Deputies to the new Parliament, they not only included all these nationalities, but also many Armenians. Pasdermadjian, who undoubtedly did more to disrupt the new Government than any one else, was an Armenian elected to Parliament on the Young Turk ticket.

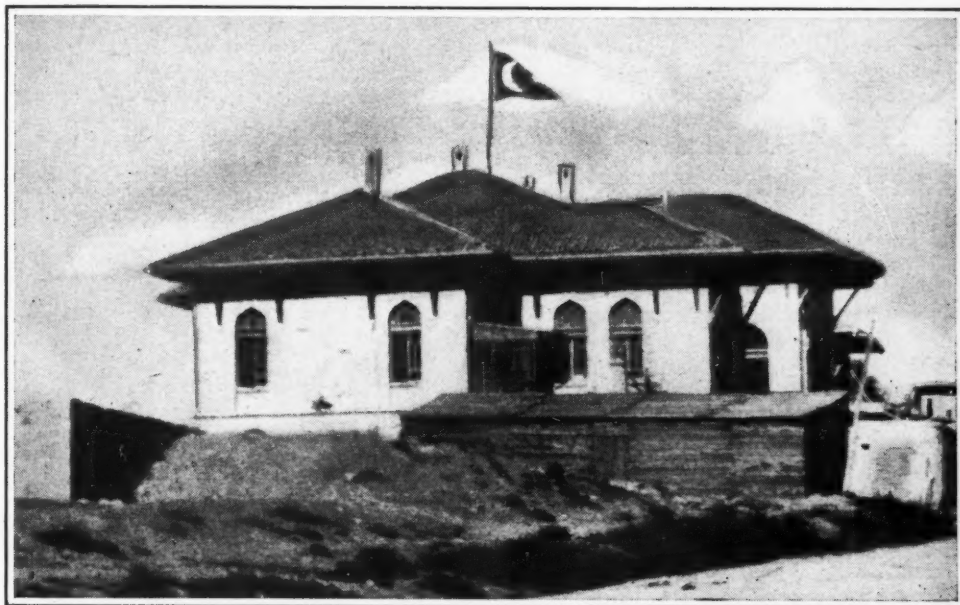
The Cabinet was made up of several nationalities. An Armenian, Gabriel Effendi, was assigned the portfolio of Minister of Public Works. Upon his forced resignation, due to his unpatriotic actions, another Armenian, Haladjian Effendi, was given his place. The unparalleled liberality of the foregoing can be appreciated by Americans when they realize that, of the

hundreds of Cabinet officers the United States has had, none have represented a foreign element, only one was a Jew, and even Roman Catholics have been exceedingly rare.

When the so-called Christians in European Turkey began to fight among themselves over the ownership of their churches, carrying it to the extreme of pillage and murder, the Turks appropriated money to build Christian churches in order to pacify them. Everything possible was done by the Turks to unify the country, irrespective of race or religion. That it was not accomplished was entirely due to many of these foreign elements, and was especially the fault of their leaders, who were not satisfied with the exceptional participation they had been granted in the new Government, and laid plots to disrupt it.

Unfortunately the rank and file of the Party of Union and Progress (the significance of its official name should be noted) were inexperienced in politics, and the central committee that had organized the revolution, and whose personnel was not publicly known, were looked to for advice and guidance.

Considerable progress would have been made in the first two or three years, had it not been for the interference of the powerful European nations. Jealous of each other and all of them fearing that they might lose the strangle hold they had had on the country for generations, if not centuries, their embassies became the centres of plots and intrigues. One plot I know of, that started in an embassy, early in 1919, and aimed to return Abdul Hamid to his former position of absolutism, almost succeeded. By bribing and persuading the soldiers in Constantinople that the new (Young Turk) movement was a scheme to turn the country over to foreigners, they were induced to revolt against their officers, 200 of whom they killed. All officials, members of Parliament and even police, who could, escaped from the capital, and for ten days the city was in the hands of these unofficered troops. Strange as it may seem to the average American from his conception of the Turk, there was no looting or disorder. My wife and small children went about the streets



The building at Angora occupied by the Grand National Assembly, the supreme governing body of Turkey

unprotected, shopping as usual, and the banks carried on their regular business. The Young Turks organized an army in Saloniki, then poetically called "The Fountain of Liberty," marched on Constantinople, took the city and restored the constitutional government.

ARMENIANS NOT "MASSACRED"

Simultaneously with the Constantinople revolt occurred the alleged "massacre" of Armenians in the Adana district, which, it has been charged, was instigated by the Young Turks. I was in that neighborhood two weeks before this happened. The British consular agent, a man who had spent his life in that section and who knew the country and its people perfectly, stated that, in spite of the efforts of the Turks to amalgamate all racial factions in a common endeavor to build up a united country, the Armenians were openly arming. He said, further, if there should be a report of a massacre in that section not to believe it, for such an affair would be a contest between two armed forces. The brains back of the Constantinople revolt wanted, above everything to discredit the Young Turks in the eyes of the world, and nothing could achieve this end better than

the staging of a "massacre." Possibly the arming of the Armenians was instigated by their leaders in order to insure the "massacre" for the appointed time, similar to the case reported by Dr. Hamlin, founder of Robert College, to the Congregationalists of Boston under date of Dec. 23, 1893. Be that as it may, with the Armenians armed for a conflict it gave the opportunity desired by the plotters, as they had only to persuade the Moslems that their lives were in danger and then stage one overt act by an Armenian to start the disaster. The Young Turks had no more to do with this than with the Constantinople revolt which they suppressed.

In reorganizing the army and navy it was natural that the Turks should turn to the Germans, as the highest exponents of military art, to direct the army, and to the English to train the navy. The Germans took full advantage of this political opportunity to carry out their extensive plans for the future. The English sent an Admiral with his staff, and he merely carried out the technical duties to which he was assigned.

Enver Pasha went to Berlin as Military

Attaché, and, gauging the man well, the Germans systematically developed his natural ego and ambition. During the Balkan wars Enver made a coup at Adrianople, restoring that city to the Turks, and again became a national hero.

As is always the case under similar circumstances, the strong men in the Committee of Union and Progress forged to the front, and gradually Talaat Pasha and Djemal Bey dominated that body. The unprovoked wars with Italy and the Balkan States created a situation that made their ambitions possible of realization. With these two and Enver, elevated to the post of Minister of War, the country was soon dominated by a triumvirate. Talaat was honest, but he had only a rudimentary education and was, unfortunately, more ambitious than patriotic. Enver was everything that was bad and rabidly pro-German, if for no other reason than that the Germans appeared to have the intuition to recognize in him one of the great world leaders.

As head of the army he soon dominated his associates and the country. Parliamentary and individual opposition was ruthlessly suppressed, and Parliament soon became a body without power to carry out its own will. That this condition was generally recognized is proved by the fact that when the Ministers approved the concession for the Samsoun-Sivas railway to the French, the latter did not consider it necessary to await Parliament's approval, though this was required by law, and started construction.

The entrance of the German cruisers Goeben and Breslau through the Dardanelles, the approval of which was forced on the Ministers by Enver virtually at the point of a pistol, irrevocably placed Turkey on the side of the Germans.

TURKS FORCED INTO WAR BY DICTATORS

In spite of the fact that their perpetual enemy, Russia, had been promised Constantinople in case the Allies won, the Turks were, as a people, pro-Ally. They had no means, however, of controlling Enver's actions. Being pro-Ally at that time was more sentimental than logical, for although their country would lose less if the Germans should win, the Turks

were fond of the French and English people and disliked the Germans.

Talaat and Enver usurped their power against the will of the nation, and yet their acts have been classified as Turkish and the Turkish people credited with characteristics observed in these despots. It is almost impossible for a country at war to throw off the yoke of a dictator, and Turkey has been at war since the Summer of 1911. The present Nationalist movement was possible only because the Allies disbanded the forces that had dominated the country for so many years. The great majority of the people did not want to enter the war and rejoiced when the armistice stopped it, especially as President Wilson's principle of self-determination was all they had been fighting for.

They had a harsh awakening when the Allies occupied Constantinople. The English, without warning or trial, suddenly arrested 300 prominent Turks and sent them to prison in Malta. Few of them had had anything to do with bringing Turkey into the war, and most of them were opposed to the Enver-Talaat régime. This and other injustices gave the Turks a clear idea as to what they could expect from the people by whom they had not been defeated.

REVOLT AGAINST SEVRES TREATY

The Treaty of Sèvres, forced down the throats of a puppet Government established by the Allies in Constantinople, was never ratified by Parliament, as is required in all constitutional countries, and yet the Turks have been condemned because they "rebelled against the Treaty of Sèvres." One would have just as much ground for condemning America for not accepting the Treaty of Versailles; more, in fact, as that treaty was not forced upon our representatives.

Members of Parliament and prominent Turks gathered in Sivas to plan for the future. It was as representative and patriotic an assemblage as that of our forefathers who signed the Declaration of Independence. There they signed and dedicated their lives and their country to the National Pact. None except those who do not believe in the principles outlined in the Declaration of Independence, and who are imbued with the theory that might

makes right, can read the National Pact and object to one paragraph or one thought expressed therein.

The great injustice of the capitulations, which the National Pact categorically repudiated, is not generally understood. Under them foreigners were exempt from taxation and the civic duties of a citizen. In order to take advantage of this unnatural condition, hordes of people became citizens of countries they had never seen. In the case of some countries, such as Italy, this could be accomplished in twenty-four hours. Mr. Morgenthau records the fact that when twenty-five "Englishmen" and twenty-five "Frenchmen" were picked at random to be sent to Gallipoli, there were only four of the fifty who had been born in France or England.

A large percentage of the wealth of the country (most of it amassed as a result of the capitulations) was in the hands of people whose ancestors, for generations back, had never lived anywhere but in Turkey, and yet these individuals, by claiming foreign citizenship, never paid anything to support the country in which and on which they lived. To illustrate the way the system worked, I may cite the case of an Armenian, the owner of one of the large hotels in Constantinople, who changed his nationality four times as the exigencies of the period or the prospective increase in his privileges or exemptions made this expedient. Another incident is illuminating. A block of houses was gradually built up on each side of an unpaved street. The necessity for paving it, especially as it was in Constantinople, became apparent, but, upon investigation it was found that there was but one taxable person owning property in the block, so the street could not be paved.

Under the capitulations Turkey could not collect higher than 11 per cent. duties on any imports into the country. Her desire to establish a protective tariff, in order to encourage manufacturing at home, was exactly what the powers wished to prevent, and so refused this wholly reasonable request.

On account of the universal system of tax dodging the Government had great difficulty in covering expenses. In 1911

it made a desperate effort to increase duties to 15 per cent., but without avail. Foreign goods were forced on the Turks just as much as English product was forced upon the United States before the Revolution.

The existence of foreign courts can be justified theoretically, but in actual practice it became so notorious that a Turk could not obtain justice against a European "citizen" in the courts of the latter's acquired nationality that all Turkish attempts to prosecute were given up. Thus these blood-sucking Levantines, born and reared in and living upon Turkey, but registered under a foreign flag, victimized the Turks with impunity. If Consular courts were established in all countries where American citizens cannot obtain impartial justice, there would be a surprisingly large number of them in Europe today, as can be attested by many Americans who have suffered from this injustice. Personally, I would feel much surer of obtaining fair treatment in the Turkish courts than in most of those in Europe. The so-called capitulations, by virtue of which the foreign courts existed, were not founded on justice and right, but upon foreign greed and selfishness.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT UNITES TURKEY

Mustapha Kemal Pasha did not start the Nationalist movement, but joined it as soon as he could invent an excuse for leaving Constantinople; shortly afterward he became its leader. As the people came to realize the full meaning of its aspirations, they gave the movement wholehearted support, and in an incredibly short time the country was united as it had never been before. Its enemies tried to make the world believe that it was "union and progress" under another name. Nothing could be more deliberately false. Not one of the many Nationalist leaders had anything to do with the destinies of the country under the degenerated "union and progress" rule. On the contrary, a sentence of death or imprisonment has been pronounced by the Nationalists upon all those who were responsible for dragging down a patriotic movement to the despotic rule of a few.

There are some enemies of the new Tur-

key who refer contemptuously to the "Kemalists" as a "small band." The inaccuracy of such a definition as applied to a solidly welded mass of eight or ten million people scarcely needs pointing out. The Angora Parliament has more power than any other elected assembly in the world. It is the executive as well as the law-making branch of the Government; in fact, it is the Government. There is some opposition to Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Parliament, but there is no opposition to the National Pact and to the movement that freed Turkey.

Turkey did not win a victory at Lausanne because of the "selfish aims" of the "big powers," but in spite of them. She won because the conference was public, because Turkey's demands were based on the God-given right of a people to rule themselves, because these demands were so logical and basically right that they could not be refuted, and because objections of the "big powers" were so clearly selfish, greedy, unjust and undemocratic that they could not stand the light of an open discussion.

Comparing the Nationalists with the Bolsheviki shows either maliciousness or ignorance. There is no Bolshevism. It is not only against their religion, but against every underlying principle of their Government. Turkey came to a friendly agreement with the Soviets at a time when she was fighting for her life, and could not afford to make more enemies, but there was, and is, no bond of sympathy between them; in fact, Turkey has practically broken with Soviet Russia already.

GIGANTIC FALSEHOOD OF "ATROCITIES"

The Turks were not "anxious to fight" any more than we were in the Revolution or Civil War, but they were determined to throw off the domination of rival European powers or die trying to do so. I lived for nearly a year in Angora and I know the spirit that prevailed there. Above everything except national freedom they wanted peace and national unity. They had no desire to enlarge Turkish territory at the expense of this principle. The charge that the Turks would have demanded the return of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, had it not meant

war with England or France, scarcely deserves refutation. This would not only have been entirely contrary to the National Pact, but frequently Turkish officials have volunteered the information to me that Turkey would not accept non-Turkish sections of their country as constituted in 1914 if offered them. These countries were always a source of discord, endangering the unity of the country, and were a heavy drain on the Treasury instead of being a financial asset.

As to the aliens already established on Turkish soil, new Turkey has resolutely decided to end once and forever the intolerable situation created by the plottings of the so-called "Christian minorities" against the Government, and to silence the century-long campaign of propaganda and hatred directed against the Turks on the ground of atrocious massacre. The legend of the "unspeakable Turk" must go. Ismet Pasha's now historic reply to the Allies at the first Lausanne conference resounded like a trumpet call. This exhaustive and strongly documented statement gave a concise chronicle of occurrences, not from the Turkish point of view, but quoted from the reports of unbiased Americans and Europeans of the highest character.

A few references will indicate the nature of the reply. In 1893 Dr. Hamilin, who was widely esteemed in the Christian world, reported to the Congregationalists of Boston that Armenian massacres were instigated by Armenian leaders simply to get foreign sympathy for their political aspirations, citing individuals, dates and places. Sir Henry Layard reported to his Government, after investigating the massacres of "60,000 Christians" by the Turks, that "the number of dead reduced to about 3,500, including Turks who were, in the first place, assassinated by the Christians. No impartial person is able to deny that the uprising of Christians, planned by its leaders to result in a general massacre of the Moslems, was projected." Mr. Graves, the British Consul at Erzerum, reported to his Government, among other condemnatory charges against the Armenian revolutionary activities, that "the most outspoken organ of this party is the periodical *Hintchak*, published by a group of organizers to whom may be attributed all the Armenian

troubles of recent years." A British Vice Consul reported officially as follows: "The more I examine the events that have occurred in this vilayet (Van) and its actual condition, the more clearly I see that the criminal acts of these societies (Armenian political organizations) are largely responsible for the terrible events that have taken place here and in the whole of Anatolia." Many quoted reports (too numerous and long to insert here), from equally responsible persons, prove conclusively that practically all the troubles between the Christians and Moslems originated with "Christian" leaders and were instigated for political reasons by foreign Governments, principally Russia.

Nothing in history compares with the organized, systematic, malicious and unjust suppression of the truth on this subject instigated by people who live and thrive on such misrepresentation. Religious intolerance is fostered by them to the point of fanaticism. A murderer and thief of lowest character is a "Christian," according to them, if he happens to be born a Greek or Armenian. A Moslem, no matter how fine his character may be, is an object to be shunned and loathed. The fact that a true Christian and a true Moslem worship the same God is never referred to. If such people continue to be accepted as interpreters of Christ's Spirit, then God help the world.

TOYNBEE REPORT ON GREEK MISDEEDS

When the Greek atrocities upon the Turks in the Smyrna district became so flagrant that some notice had to be taken of it, the Allied and American High Commissioners appointed a committee to investigate the reports. The English, naturally hoping that the result would be favorable to the Greeks, appointed Mr. Toynbee as one of their representatives. Mr. Toynbee had written most scathing articles against the Turks, and it was assumed that he would continue to do so. The facts developed by the investigations were so damaging to the Greeks that he changed his whole idea as to the direct causes of the massacres in the Near East, and, as a result, in his last book on this subject, "The Western Question in Greece and

Turkey," he denounces in the bitterest terms the European powers as instigators of all the troubles and horrors in that part of the world, and even repudiates what he himself had previously written.

The committee's report, published in two volumes and approved by the High Commissioners, is filled with detailed authenticated cases of atrocities by the Greeks against innocent and helpless Turkish people over whom they ruled, seldom paralleled in any official report. This report was given to one of the leading newspapers in order to let the American people know something about the other side of the case, but the editor refused to publish it. There was no question about the authenticity of the report; there was no denial of the statements therein; there was not even an intimation that the facts were exaggerated or distorted; the editor calmly stated that he was afraid of losing some of his Church, Greek and Armenian, subscribers if he published it.

The Smyrna conflagration furnishes another instance of deliberate falsification. A recently published description of the Turkish entry into Smyrna as "the willful, total destruction of the Greek and Armenian districts in Smyrna" indicates that the source of information was reports issued by the Near East Relief. These reports, fed to the American public, were even more biased and unjust than usual. The true facts relating to what then occurred are as follows:

Prior to their last offensive the Turks had made every possible effort to obtain peace without further bloodshed. The Greeks misinterpreted these advances as signs of weakness and became more determined than ever to hold the alien soil and people under subjection. Finding all peaceful efforts unavailing, the Turks were again compelled to resort to force of arms. Their offensive was marvelously conceived and executed, and the Greeks started their retreat toward Smyrna. They were too cowardly to stand up and fight the enemy they outnumbered, but took their revenge on the helpless inhabitants of the towns and cities which they occupied or passed through. They murdered men, women and children, looting and burning as they swept on. I have been through this district; the destruction and devastation beg-

gars description. The few buildings remaining standing owe their preservation to the haste of the retreat. One passes village after village where not a wall is standing. Those who escaped being butchered were only those who could escape the butchers.

As the Turks passed through these scenes of destruction and carnage, one can imagine their indignation. Mustapha Kemal Pasha sent word to the Greek Generals that if the atrocities did not cease he would not be able to control the fury of his soldiers when they reached Smyrna. The slaughter, however, continued.

TURKS BLAMELESS FOR SMYRNA DISASTER

The evacuation of Smyrna started long before the Turks entered. The Greek population was naturally fearful of retaliation and panic ensued, accompanied by many harrowing and heart-rending scenes. The Admiral commanding the French naval forces, in describing the Turks' entry into that city, as seen by him, said they occupied the place in perfect order, and, in the presence of the assembled populace, the Commanding General read Mustapha Kemal's order of occupation. It enjoined the people to return to their peaceful callings and promised that they would be unmolested. It stated that the Government had a list of some 300 persons who had committed offenses and that these would be tried and punished if found to be guilty.

While the order was being read a bomb was thrown from a neighboring building, mortally wounding the General and killing his horse. Turkish soldiers attacked the building, and sniping commenced from other buildings. In the ensuing disorder, entirely provoked by the Greeks, many undoubtedly innocent people were killed. Order was finally restored. *Four days* after the occupation, and after many business houses had opened their offices, fires started simultaneously in many buildings in the waterfront section. The Turks made frantic efforts to extinguish them, but the conflagration grew to such magnitude that nothing effective could be done, and a large section of the city was destroyed. The report that these fires were started by the Turks, who had everything to lose by

them and nothing to gain, is a sample of the news supplied to the American public at that time.

The Greek evacuation of Smyrna was a life saver for the Near East Relief. The American public was getting tired of sinking money in that organization, and it seemed probable that most of its personnel would have to find some more useful and arduous means of earning a livelihood; even that they might have to use trolleys instead of being supplied with automobiles. The Near East Relief organization took a new lease on life. Its publicity department worked overtime. The most blood-curdling reports on the Terrible Turk were edited in reams. No mention was made of the Greek atrocities. Feeling the advisability of the reports being authenticated, the New York office tried in every way to get Mr. Treat, the American Consul at Smyrna, but then in America, to sanction and sign these reports. The fact that he was 5,000 miles from the occurrences referred to made no difference to them, but it did to him, and he naturally refused. In his presence the publicity department was instructed to wait no longer for authentication, and to give its reports to the papers.

By such false or deliberately biased reports as these, the religious and racial prejudices of the world have been aroused against one of the most progressive and vital of the new democracies that have arisen out of the ruins of the World War. The American people, lovers of fair play, must hear and consider the Turkish side of the controversy inherited by the Angora Government from the previous régime, and must learn to appreciate at its true value one of the most elaborate campaigns of hostile and mendacious propaganda ever carried on against any single nation. New Turkey, sovereign mistress of her own territory, her own people, her own institutions, and her own resources, now looms above the political horizon, a free, autonomous, progressive power of the modern world. Americans, with the traditions of their own history behind them, cannot but admire the bold and virile way in which the Turks have broken their own chains, and wrought their own salvation.

PEACE TERMS WITH TURKEY

Text of the important provisions of the treaty and the other instruments embodying the Near East peace settlement

THE treaty of the allied powers and Turkey, the official text of which is published herewith, was signed in the Palais de Lumière at Lausanne, Switzerland, on July 24, 1923. Yugoslavia refused to sign because of dissatisfaction with the provisions for the apportionment of the Ottoman debt. Russia's signature confirming her acceptance of the convention referring to the Straits was added subsequently.

Thus, after almost continuous sessions for three months, the Lausanne conference finally reached agreement in one of the most complex and momentous treaties negotiated in modern times. The sweeping advantages won by Turkey are shown clearly by an enumeration of the salient features of the agreement: Constantinople goes definitely to Turkey; all foreign forces are to be withdrawn, the evacuation having already begun; the Straits issue is amicably settled, but Turkey retains eventual sovereignty; peace is concluded between Turkey and Greece; the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church is permitted to remain in Constantinople, but compulsory exchange of Greeks in Turkey for Turks in Greece is provided, and the Armenian problem remains unsolved, it being reported on Aug. 20 that all the Greeks and Armenians remaining in the interior of Anatolia were being deported to Aleppo and Russia respectively; Turkey's size is reduced by recognition of detached mandated States, such as Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine; Turkey regains Smyrna and Eastern Thrace; the Bulgarian frontier undergoes no change, despite Bulgarian efforts at Lausanne; Turkey is rid of judicial capitulations. In regard to Mosul, in the new State of Iraq, a delay of nine months is granted for special negotiations between Great Britain and Turkey. Financial clauses settle the status of the Otto-

man debt, concessions and the application of the Ottoman tariff.

The treaty represents a complete revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on Aug. 10, 1920, and also a profound modification of the agreements of the first conference at Lausanne. Execution of the full text of the treaty as drawn and signed will open a new chapter in the history of Turkey and of the Near East generally. From the middle of the thirteenth century to our own time the Turks have been a thorn in the flesh of Europe. The Crimean War showed that the military prowess of the race had not declined. Turkey, coerced by Enver Pasha, and Djemal Bey, did much to aid Germany in the World War, but the issue of this conflict brought the Turkish nation only defeat and national humiliation. It paid for that participation by the loss of Egypt, Syria, Arabia and other territory conquered by Selim I.

In their rebellion against the Sèvres Treaty and against the corrupt and tottering rule of the Sultans, the Turks showed again their unconquerable military spirit, and this time something more: the determination to regain their national sovereignty at all costs. The defeat of the Greek armies, spurred on by the Allies, led to the Treaty of Lausanne, and that treaty has freed the Turks of many of the most onerous obligations by which she has been bound for centuries. Turkey today in consequence occupies a position she has never held before. She is now a free and independent nation, sovereign mistress of her own courts, her own administration, her own people and her own resources.

From the Greek point of view the Lausanne Treaty is no less momentous. By its terms Greek and Turkish relations, which had been interrupted since October, 1912, are once more resumed. It is true that Turkey and Greece signed a peace treaty at Athens on Jan. 13, 1914, but the

outbreak of the World War made execution of this agreement impossible. The Greeks gained nothing by the Lausanne treaty, and some of their leaders are bitter over the triumph won by Turkey.

The treaty was ratified by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at Angora, the present capital in Asia Minor, on Aug. 23. The Greek Government on Aug. 26

issued two decrees, one ratifying the treaty and the other declaring the cessation of the war with Turkey.

A subsidiary treaty between Turkey and Poland was signed shortly before the signing of the Turco-allied agreement. Two treaties, one general and the other relating to extradition, were signed between Turkey and the United States on Aug. 6.

PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE TREATY

THE Near East peace settlement which resulted from the Lausanne Conference is embodied in a number of instruments, the principal one of which is the treaty of peace. The documents have been published in both the French and English texts, by the British Government through his Majesty's Stationery Office, as Treaty Series No. 16 (1923), the full title of the volume being "Treaty of Peace With Turkey and Other Instruments Signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, Together With Agreements Between Greece and Turkey Signed on Jan. 30, 1923, and Subsidiary Documents Forming Part of the Turkish Peace Settlement." The first of these documents is the Final Act, the complete text of which follows:

FINAL ACT

The Governments of the British Empire, France and Italy, in agreement with the Government of Japan, being desirous of finally re-establishing peace in the East, and having invited on the one hand Greece, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and also the United States of America, and on the other hand Turkey, to examine together the arrangements by which a result equally desired by all the nations might be achieved;

And considering further that among the subjects falling to be dealt with by this conference the question of the Straits ought to be specially examined, Bulgaria and Russia, as littoral Powers of the Black Sea, being invited to participate in the negotiations and the decisions to be taken;

And having decided that Belgium and Portugal should be allowed to take part in the discussion on the economic and financial questions which arose for those two Powers from the state of war in the East;

In consequence the delegates hereafter mentioned met at Lausanne:

FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE:

The Most Honourable George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K. G., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Right Honourable Sir Horace George Montagu Rumbold, Baronet, G. C. M. G., High Commissioner at Constantinople.

FOR FRANCE:

M. Camille Barrère, Ambassador of the French Republic to his Majesty the King of Italy, Grand Cross of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

M. Maurice Bompard, Senator, Ambassador of France, Grand Officer of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

General Maurice Pellé, Ambassador of France, High Commissioner of the Republic in the East, Grand Officer of the National Order of the Legion of Honour;

FOR ITALY:

The Honourable Marquis Camillo Garroni, Senator of the Kingdom, Ambassador of Italy, High Commissioner at Constantinople, Grand Cross of the Orders of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, and of the Crown of Italy;

M. Giulio Cesare Montagna, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Athens, Commander of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy;

FOR JAPAN:

Baron Hayashi, Junii, First Class of the Order of the Rising Sun, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at London;

Mr. Kentaro Otchial, Jusammii, First Class of the Order of the Rising Sun, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at Rome;

FOR GREECE:

M. Eleutherios K. Venizelos, formerly President of the Council of Ministers, Grand Cross of the Order of the Saviour;

M. Demetrios Caclamanos, Minister Plenipotentiary at London, Commander of the Order of the Saviour;

FOR ROUMANIA:

M. Ion G. Duca, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

M. Constantine I. Diamandy, Minister Plenipotentiary;

M. Constantine Contzesco, Minister Plenipotentiary;

FOR THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE:

M. Montchilo Nintchitch, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

M. Miroslav Spalaikovitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris;

M. Milan Rakitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Sofia;

Dr. Milutin Yovanovitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne;

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

The Honourable Richard Washburn Child, Ambassador of the United States at Rome;

Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, High Commissioner of the United States at Constantinople;

The Honourable Joseph C. Grew, Minister of the United States at Berne;

FOR TURKEY:

Ismet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy for Adrianople;

Dr. Riza Nour Bey, Minister for Health and for Public Assistance, Deputy for Sinope;

Hassan Bey, formerly Minister, Deputy for Trebizond;

FOR BULGARIA:

M. Alexander Stambolisky, President of the Council, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

M. Dimitri Stancioff, Doctor of Law, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at London, Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Alexander;

M. Kosta Todoroff, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Belgrade;

Subsequently:

M. Bogdan Morphoff, formerly Minister of Railways, Posts and Telegraphs;

FOR RUSSIA:

M. George V. Tchitcherin;

M. Christian G. Rakovsky;

M. Polikarp G. Mdivani;

M. Watzlaw W. Vorowski;

FOR BELGIUM:

M. F. Peltzer, Officer of the Order of Leopold, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne;

FOR PORTUGAL:

M. Antonio Maria Bartholomew Ferreira, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Commander of the Order of Saint James and the Sword.

As the result of meetings held between the 20th November, 1922, and the 24th July, 1923, during which certain other powers had the opportunity of presenting their views on the questions which they considered of interest to themselves, the instruments hereafter mentioned have been drawn up:

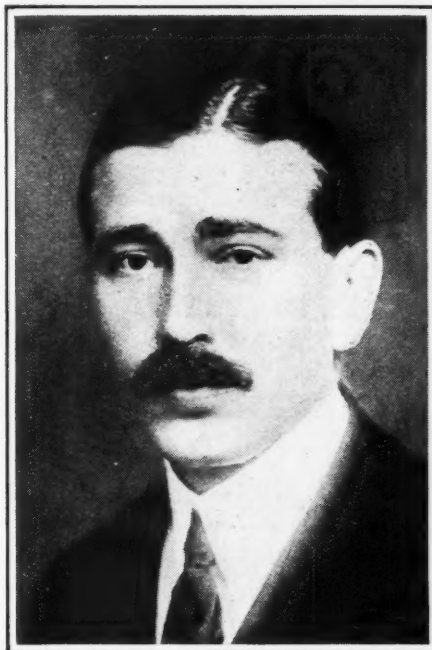
- I. Treaty of Peace, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- II. Convention respecting the Régime of the Straits, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- III. Convention respecting the Thracian Frontiers, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- IV. Convention respecting Conditions of Residence and Business and Jurisdiction, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- V. Commercial Convention, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- VI. Convention respecting the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations, and Protocol, signed the 30th January, 1923.
- VII. Graeco-Turkish Agreement on the Restitution of Interned Civilians and the Exchange of Prisoners of War, signed the 30th January, 1923.
- VIII. Amnesty Declaration, and Protocol, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- IX. Declaration relating to Moslem Properties in Greece, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- X. Declaration relating to Sanitary Matters, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- XI. Declaration relating to the Administration of Justice, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- XII. Protocol relating to certain Concessions granted in the Ottoman Empire, and Declaration, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- XIII. Protocol relating to the accession of Belgium and Portugal to certain provisions of Instruments signed at Lausanne, and Declarations of these two Powers concerning such accession, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- XIV. Protocol relating to the Evacuation of the Turkish territory occupied by the British, French and Italian Forces, and Declaration, signed the 24th July, 1923.
- XV. Protocol relating to the Karagatch territory and to the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, signed by the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece and Turkey on the 24th July, 1923.
- XVI. Protocol, signed on the 24th July, 1923, relating to the Treaty concluded at Sèvres between the Principal Allied Powers and Greece on the 10th August, 1920, concerning the Protection of Minorities in Greece, and to the Treaty relating to Thrace concluded on the same day between the same Powers.
- XVII. Protocol relating to signature by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, signed the 24th July, 1923.

The originals of the above-mentioned Instruments, as well as of the present Act, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, and certified copies of each shall be delivered by that Government to the Powers which signed or acceded or adhered to it, as the case may be, and also to the Powers which signed the Treaty of Peace.

In faith whereof the Undersigned have signed and sealed the present Act.

Done at Lausanne, the 24th July, 1923, in a single copy.

(L.S.) HORACE RUMBOLD.
(L.S.) PELLE.
(L.S.) GARBONI.



Keystone

FETHI BEY

Who has become Turkish Premier in succession to Rauf Bey

(L.S.)	G. C. MONTAGNA.
(L.S.)	K. OTCHIAL.
(L.S.)	E. K. VENIZELOS.
(L.S.)	CONST. DIAMANDY.
(L.S.)	CONST. CONTZESCO.
(L.S.)	M. ISMET.
(L.S.)	DR. RIZA NUR.
(L.S.)	HASSAN.
(L.S.)	B. MORPHOFF.
(L.S.)	STANCIOFF.
(L.S.)	FERNAND PELTZER.
(L.S.)	A. M. BARTHOLOMEW FERREIRA.

The treaty of peace is between the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State (Jugoslavia) on the one part and Turkey on the other. It consists of 143 articles divided into five parts under the headings of (1) political clauses, (2) financial clauses, (3) economic clauses, (4) communications and sanitary questions and (5) miscellaneous provisions.

PART I.—POLITICAL CLAUSES

The first clauses are those dealing with territorial questions, the more important being:

Article 2—From the Black Sea to the Aegean the frontier of Turkey is laid down as follows:

(1.) *With Bulgaria:* From the mouth of the River Rezvaya, to the River Maritza, the point of junction of the three frontiers of Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece: the southern frontier of Bulgaria as at present demarkated;

(2.) *With Greece:* Thence to the confluence of the Arda and the Maritza: the course of the Maritza; then upstream along the Arda, up to

a point on that river to be determined on the spot in the immediate neighborhood of the village of Tchörek-Keuy: the course of the Arda; thence in a southeasterly direction up to a point on the Maritza, 1 kilometer below Bosna-Keuy; a roughly straight line leaving in Turkish territory the village of Bosna-Keuy. The village of Tchörek-Keuy shall be assigned to Greece or to Turkey according as the majority of the population shall be found to be Greek or Turkish by the Commission for which provision is made in Article 5, the population which has migrated into this village after the 11th October, 1922, not being taken into account; thence to the Aegean Sea: the course of the Maritza.

Article 3—From the Mediterranean to the frontier of Persia, the frontier of Turkey is laid down as follows:

(1.) *With Syria*: The frontier described in Article 8 of the Franco-Turkish Agreement of the 20th October, 1921;

(2.) *With Iraq*: The frontier between Turkey and Iraq shall be laid down in friendly arrangement to be concluded between Turkey and Great Britain within nine months. In the event of no agreement being reached between the two Governments within the time mentioned, the dispute shall be referred to the Council of the League of Nations. The Turkish and British Governments reciprocally undertake that, pending the decision to be reached on the subject of the frontier, no military or other movement shall take place which might modify in any way the present state of the territories of which the final fate will depend upon that decision.

Then follow articles dealing with the methods by which the Boundary Commission shall carry out the work of tracing the frontier defined in Article 2. (2.)

Article 12 confirms previous treaties regarding the sovereignty of Greece over the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean, other than the islands of Imbros, Tenedos and Rabbit Islands, particularly the Islands of Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria, subject to the provision made by Article 15, quoted below. Except where provided for to the contrary in this treaty, the islands less than three miles from the Asiatic Coast remain under Turkish sovereignty. *Article 13* lays down restrictions to prevent the islands of Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikaria being used for warlike purposes. *Article 14* provides that the islands of Imbros and Tenedos shall have a special local administration and that the native non-Moslem population shall be guaranteed protection and further that the agreement for the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations shall not apply to the inhabitants of these islands. Next come these clauses:

Article 15—Turkey renounces in favor of Italy all rights and title over the following islands: Stampalia (Astrapalia), Rhodes (Rhodos), Calki (Kharki), Scarpanto, Cases (Casso), Piscopis (Tilos), Misiros (Nisvros), Calimnos (Kalymnos), Leros, Patmos, Lipsos (Lipso), Simi (Symi) and Cos (Kos), which are now occupied by Italy, and the islets dependent thereon, and also over the island of Castellorizzo.

Article 16—Turkey hereby renounces all rights and title whatsoever over or respecting the territories situated outside the frontiers laid down in the present Treaty and the islands other than those over which her sovereignty is recognized by the said Treaty, the future of these territories and islands being settled or to be settled by the parties concerned. The provisions of the present Article do not prejudice any special arrangements arising from neigh-

bourly relations which have been or may be concluded between Turkey and any limitrophe countries.

Article 17—The renunciation by Turkey of all rights and titles over Egypt and over the Sudan will take effect as from the 5th November, 1914.

Article 18—Turkey is released from all undertakings and obligations in regard to the Ottoman loans guaranteed on the Egyptian tribute, that is to say, the loans of 1855, 1891 and 1894. The annual payments made by Egypt for the service of these loans now forming part of the service of the Egyptian Public Debt. Egypt is freed from all other obligations relating to the Ottoman Public Debt.

Article 19—Any questions arising from the recognition of the State of Egypt shall be settled by agreements to be negotiated subsequently in a manner to be determined later between the Powers concerned. The provisions of the present Treaty relating to territories detached from Turkey under the said Treaty will not apply to Egypt.

Article 20—Turkey hereby recognizes the annexation of Cyprus proclaimed by the British Government on the 5th November, 1914.

Article 21 deals with the acquisition of British nationality by Turkish nationals in Cyprus. Under *Article 22* Turkey recognizes, subject to certain provisions, the definite abolition of all rights and privileges which she enjoyed in Libya.

The separate conventions relating to the Straits and the Thracian frontier are declared by Articles 23 and 24 to have the same force as the main treaty, while under Articles 25 and 26 Turkey recognizes the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria and the frontiers laid down as a result of the general settlement after the war. The next two clauses read:

Article 27—No power or jurisdiction in political, legislative or administrative matters shall be exercised outside Turkish territory by the Turkish Government or authorities, for any reason whatsoever, over the nationals of a territory placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of the other Powers signatory of the present Treaty, or over the nationals of a territory detached from Turkey. It is understood that the spiritual attributions of the Moslem religious authorities are in no way infringed.

Article 28—Each of the High Contracting Parties hereby accepts, in so far as it is concerned the complete abolition of the Capitulations in Turkey in every respect.

The treatment of Moroccans, Tunisians and natives of Libya in Turkey are dealt with in *Article 29*. The subject of nationality is covered by Articles 30-36, the main provision being that Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory which under this treaty is detached from Turkey are to become nationals of the State to which such territory is transferred. The clauses (Section III. of Part I.) relating to the protection of minorities are the following:

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Article 37—Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them.

Article 38—The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey



Wide World

THE CALIPH ABDUL MEDJID

Who succeeded the Sultan Mohammed VI. as spiritual head of Islam

without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals. Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defense, or for the maintenance of public order.

Article 39—Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems. All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law. Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries. No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings. Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.

Article 40—Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treat-

ment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

Article 41—As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes. The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.

Article 42—The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities. These measures will be elaborated by special Commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government and of representatives of each of the minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from among European lawyers. The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries and other religious establishments of the above-mentioned minorities. All facilities and authorization will be granted to the pious foundations, and to the religious and charitable institutions of the said minorities at present existing in Turkey, and the Turkish Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious and charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which are guaranteed to other private institutions of that nature.

Article 43—Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend Courts of Law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest. This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

Article 44—Turkey agrees that, in so far as the preceding Articles of this Section affect non-Moslem nationals of Turkey, these provisions constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent to any modification in these Articles which is in due form

assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Turkey agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances. Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these Articles between the Turkish Government and any one of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

Article 45—The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey will be similarly conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory.

PART II.—FINANCIAL CLAUSES

The Ottoman Public Debt is the subject of Section I. of Part II. (Articles 46-57). The different parts of what was once the Ottoman Empire and of the new Turkey are responsible in varying degrees for the debt and the annual charges on the debt, according to an elaborate scheme which is formulated in these articles. Among the miscellaneous financial clauses which follow are these:

Article 58—Turkey, on the one hand, and the other Contracting Powers (except Greece) on the other hand, reciprocally renounce all pecuniary claims for the loss and damage suffered respectively by Turkey and the said Powers and by their nationals (including juridical persons) between the 1st August, 1914, and the coming into force of the present Treaty, as the result of acts of war, or measures of requisition, sequestration, disposal or confiscation. * * *

Article 59—Greece recognizes her obligation to make reparation for the damage caused in Anatolia by the acts of the Greek Army or administration which were contrary to the laws of war. On the other hand, Turkey, in consideration of the financial situation of Greece resulting from the prolongation of the war and from its consequences, finally renounces all claims for reparation against the Greek Government.

Article 60—The States in favour of which territory was or is detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars or by the present Treaty shall acquire, without payment, all the property and possessions of the Ottoman Empire situated therein. * * *

Article 61—The recipients of Turkish civil and military pensions who acquire under the present Treaty the nationality of a State other than Turkey shall have no claim against the Turkish Government in respect of their pensions.

Article 62—Turkey recognizes the transfer of any claims to payment or repayment which Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Hungary may have against her, in accordance with Article 261 of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919, with Germany, and the corresponding articles of the Treaties of Peace of the 10th September, 1919, with Austria; of the 27th November, 1919, with Bulgaria, and of the 4th June, 1920, with Hungary. The other Contracting Powers agree to release Turkey from the debts for which she is liable on this account. The claims which Turkey has against Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary are also transferred to the aforesaid Contracting Powers.

PART III.—ECONOMIC CLAUSES

Among the more important clauses, or parts of clauses, relating to economic matters are the following:

Article 64—In this part, the expression "Allied Powers" means the Contracting Powers other than Turkey. The term "Allied nationals" includes physical persons, companies and associations of the Contracting Powers other than Turkey, or of a State or territory under the protection of one of the said Powers. The provisions of this Part relating to "Allied nationals" shall benefit persons who without having the nationality of one of the Allied Powers, have, in consequence of the protection which they in fact enjoyed at the hands of these Powers, received from the Ottoman authorities the same treatment as Allied nationals and have, on this account, been prejudiced.

Article 65—Property rights and interests which still exist and can be identified in territories remaining Turkish at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty, and which belong to persons who on the 29th October, 1914, were Allied nationals, shall be immediately restored to the owners in their existing state. Reciprocally, property, rights and interests which still exist and can be identified in territories subject to the sovereignty or protectorate of the Allied Powers on the 29th October, 1914, or in territories detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars and subject today to the sovereignty of any such Power, and which belong to Turkish nationals, shall be immediately restored to the owners in their existing state. The same provision shall apply to property, rights and interests which belong to Turkish nationals in territories detached from the Ottoman Empire under the present Treaty, and which may have been subjected to liquidation or any other exceptional measure whatever on the part of the authorities of the Allied Powers. * * *

Article 66—In order to give effect to the provisions of the first and second paragraphs of Article 65 the High Contracting Parties will, by the most rapid procedure, restore the owners to the possession of their property, rights and interests free from any burdens or encumbrances with which such property, rights and interests may have been charged without the consent of the said owners. It will be the duty of the Government of the Power effecting the restitution to provide for the compensation of third parties who may have acquired the property directly or indirectly from the said Government and who may be injured by this restitution. * * *

Article 67—Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State on the one hand and Turkey on the other hand undertake mutually to facilitate both by appropriate administrative measures and by the delivery of all documents relating thereto the search on their territory for, and the restitution of, movable property of every kind taken away, seized or sequestered by their armies or administrations in the territory of Turkey, or in the territory of Greece, Roumania or the Serb-Croat-Slovene State respectively, which are actually within the territories in question. Such search and restitution will take place also as regards property of the nature referred to above seized or sequestered by German, Austro-Hungarian or Bulgarian armies or administrations in the territory of Greece, Roumania or the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, which has been assigned to Turkey or to her nationals, as well as to property seized or sequestered by the Greek, Roumanian or Serbian armies in Turkish territory, which has been assigned to Greece, Roumania or the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or to their nationals. * * *

Article 68—Debts arising out of contracts concluded, in districts in Turkey occupied by the Greek Army, between the Greek authorities and administrations on the one hand and Turkish nationals on the other, shall be paid by the Greek Government in accordance with the provisions of the said contracts.



Wide World

S. E. HAYDAR BEY
The new Vali (Governor) of Constantinople, appointed by the Angora Government

Contracts and prescriptions, including those to which the parties were enemies, are dealt with in Articles 73-83 and in an annex to Section II. relating specially to life assurance. Section III. contains the following:

Article 84—The High Contracting Parties are in agreement in recognizing that debts which were payable before the war or which became payable during the war under contracts entered into before the war, and which remained unpaid owing to the war, must be settled and paid, in accordance with the provisions of the contracts, in the currency agreed upon, at the rate current in its country of origin.

Section IV. (Articles 86-91) deals with industrial, literary and artistic property, that is, questions of patents, trade marks, copyrights and so forth. Section V. (Articles 92-98) provides for the establishment of a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal between each of the Allied Powers on the one hand and Turkey on the other. These tribunals are to have jurisdiction over various economic matters referred to in the treaty. Under Section VI. (Articles 99-100) Turkey becomes a party to various international treaties, conventions and

agreements of an economic or technical character, such as those concerned with submarine cables, telegraphs and postal arrangements, shipping, health and the white-slave traffic.

PART IV.—COMMUNICATIONS AND SANITARY QUESTIONS

Section I. of Part IV. (Articles 101-113) deals with communications, including waterways, railways and cables, one of the important provisions being the abolition of foreign Post Offices in Turkey. Under Section II. (Articles 114-118), sanitary questions are treated. The Superior Council of Health of Constantinople is abolished and the Turkish Administration is entrusted with the sanitary organization of the coasts and frontiers of Turkey. Among these clauses is the following:

Article 117—Turkey and those Powers which are interested in the supervision of the pilgrimages to Jerusalem and to the Hedjaz and the Hedjaz railway shall take such measures as are appropriate in accordance with the provisions of international sanitary conventions. With a view to insuring complete uniformity in the execution of these measures, these Powers and Turkey shall constitute a Sanitary Co-ordination Commission for pilgrimages, on which the sanitary service of Turkey and the Maritime Sanitary and Quarantine Council of Egypt shall be represented. This Commission must obtain the previous consent of the State on whose territory it holds its meeting.

PART V.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Among the articles relating to prisoners of war are the following:

Article 119—The High Contracting Parties agree to repatriate at once the prisoners of war and interned civilians who are still in their hands. The exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians detained by Greece and Turkey respectively forms the subject of a separate agreement between those powers signed at Lausanne on the 30th January, 1923.

Article 120—Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offenses against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them. Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting trial or undergoing sentence for offenses other than those against discipline may be detained.

Article 121—The High Contracting Parties agree to give every facility in their respective territories for the search for the missing and the identification of prisoners of war and interned civilians who have expressed their desire not to be repatriated.

Article 123—The High Contracting Parties waive reciprocally all repayments of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war captured by their armies.

Soldiers' graves and various matters relating to cemeteries and memorials are the subject of Articles 124-136. The general provisions (Articles 137-143), with which the treaty concludes, include the following:

Article 140—Prizes made during the war between Turkey and the other Contracting Powers prior to the 30th October, 1918, shall give rise to no claim on either side. The same shall apply to seizures effected after that date, for violation of the armistice, by the Powers who have occupied Constantinople.

- 5—*Stay in the Ports of the Straits and of the Black Sea.* * * *
 6—*Special Provisions Relating to Sanitary Protection.* * * *

Other articles of the convention are the following:

Article 4—The zones and islands indicated below shall be demilitarized:

1. Both shores of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus over the extent of the zones delimited below:

Dardanelles: On the northwest, the Gallipoli Peninsula and the area southeast of a line traced from a point on the Gulf of Xeros 4 kilometers northeast of Bakla-Burnu, reaching the Sea of Marmora at Kumbaghi and passing south of Kavak (this village excluded); on the southeast, the area included between the coast and a line 20 kilometers from the coast, starting from Cape Eski-Stamboul opposite Tenedos and reaching the Sea of Marmora at a point on the coast immediately north of Karabigha.

Bosphorus (without prejudice to the special provisions relating to Constantinople contained in Article 8): On the east, the area extending up to a line 15 kilometers from the eastern shore of the Bosphorus; on the west, the area up to a line 15 kilometers from the western shore of the Bosphorus.

2. All the islands in the Sea of Marmora, with the exception of the island of Emir Ali Adasi.

3. In the Aegean Sea, the islands of Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos and Rabbit Islands.

Article 5—A commission composed of four representatives appointed respectively by the Governments of France, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey shall meet within 15 days of the coming into force of the present convention to determine on the spot the boundaries of the zone laid down in Article 4 (1). * * *

Article 6—Subject to the provisions of Article 8 concerning Constantinople, there shall exist, in the demilitarized zones and islands, no fortifications, no permanent military organization, no submarine engines of war other than submarine vessels, no military aerial organization and no naval base. No armed forces shall be stationed in the demilitarized zones and islands except the police and gendarmerie forces necessary for the maintenance of order; the armament of such forces will be composed only of revolvers, swords, rifles and four Lewis guns per hundred men, and will exclude any artillery. In the territorial waters of the demilitarized zones and islands there shall exist no submarine engines of war other than submarine vessels. Notwithstanding the preceding paragraphs Turkey will retain the right to transport her armed forces through the demilitarized zones and islands of Turkish territory, as well as through their territorial waters, where the Turkish fleet will have the right to anchor. Moreover, in so far as the Straits are concerned, the Turkish Government shall have the right to observe by means of airplanes or balloons both the surface and the bottom of the sea. Turkish airplanes will always be able to fly over the waters of the Straits and the demilitarized zones of Turkish territory, and will have full freedom to alight therein, either on land or on sea. In the demilitarized zones and islands and in their territorial waters Turkey and Greece shall similarly be entitled to effect such movements of personnel as are rendered necessary for the instruction outside these zones and islands of the men recruited therein. Turkey and Greece shall have the right to organize in the said zones and islands in their respective territories any system of observation and communication, both telegraphic, telephonic and visual. Greece shall be entitled to send her fleet into the territorial waters of the demilitarized Greek islands, but may not use these waters as a base of operations against Turkey nor for any

military or naval concentration for this purpose.

Article 7—No submarine engines of war other than submarine vessels shall be installed in the waters of the Sea of Marmora. The Turkish Government shall not install any permanent battery or torpedo tubes, capable of interfering with the passage of the Straits, in the coastal zone of the European shore of the Sea of Marmora or in the coastal zone on the Anatolian shore situated to the east of the demilitarized zone of the Bosphorus as far as Darje.

Article 8—At Constantinople, including for this purpose Stamboul, Pera, Galata, Scutari, as well as Princes Islands, and in the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople, there may be maintained for the requirements of the capital, a garrison with a maximum strength of 12,000 men. An arsenal and naval base may also be maintained at Constantinople.

Article 10—There shall be constituted at Constantinople an International Commission composed in accordance with Article 12 and called the "Straits Commission."

Article 11—The Commission will exercise its functions over the waters of the Straits.

Article 12—The Commission shall be composed of a representative of Turkey, who shall be President, and representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, Russia, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, in so far as these Powers are signatories of the present Convention, each of these Powers being entitled to representation as from its ratification of the said Convention. The United States of America, in the event of their acceding to the present Convention, will also be entitled to have one representative on the Commission. Under the same conditions any independent littoral States of the Black Sea which are not mentioned in the first paragraph of the present Article will possess the same right.

Article 14—It will be the duty of the Commission to see that the provisions relating to the passage of warships and military aircraft are carried out; these provisions are laid down in paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Annex to Article 2.

Article 15—The Straits Commission will carry out its functions under the auspices of the League of Nations, and will address to the League an annual report giving an account of its activities, and furnishing all information which may be useful in the interests of commerce and navigation. * * *

Article 17—The terms of the present Convention will not infringe the right of Turkey to move her fleet freely in Turkish waters.

Article 18—The High Contracting Parties, desiring to secure that the demilitarization of the Straits and of the contiguous zones shall not constitute an unjustifiable danger to the military security of Turkey, and that no act of war should imperil the freedom of the Straits or the safety of the demilitarized zones, agree as follows:

Should the freedom of navigation of the Straits or the security of the demilitarized zones be imperiled by a violation of the provisions relating to freedom of passage, or by a surprise attack or some act of war or threat of war, the High Contracting Parties, and in any case France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, acting in conjunction, will meet such violation, attack, or other act of war or threat of war, by all the means that the Council of the League of Nations may decide for this purpose.

So soon as the circumstance which may have necessitated the action provided for in the preceding paragraph shall have ended, the régime of the Straits as laid down by the terms of the present Convention shall again be strictly applied.

The present provision, which forms an integral part of those relating to the demilitarization and to the freedom of the Straits, does not prejudice the rights and obligations of the High Contracting Parties under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 19—The High Contracting Parties will use every possible endeavor to induce non-sig-

natory Powers to accede to the present Convention.

Article 20—The present Convention shall be ratified. The ratifications shall be deposited at Paris as soon as possible. The Convention will come into force in the same way as the Treaty of Peace signed this day. In so far as concerns

those Powers who are not signatories of this Treaty and who at that date shall not yet have ratified the present Convention, this Convention will come into force as from the date on which they deposit their respective ratifications, which deposit shall be notified to the other Contracting Powers by the French Government.

THRACIAN FRONTIER CONVENTION

A settlement of the Thracian frontier question is embodied in a convention, of which the following are the principal clauses:

Article 1—From the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea the territories extending on both sides of the frontiers separating Turkey from Bulgaria and from Greece shall be demilitarized to a depth of about 30 kilometers within the following limits:

(1) *In Turkish territory*, from the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea: a line generally parallel to the frontier of Turkey with Greece and Bulgaria, defined in Article 2, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Treaty of Peace signed this day. This line shall be traced at a minimum distance of 30 kilometers from that frontier, except in the neighborhood of Kirk Kilisse, where the town itself, and an area within a radius of at least 5 kilometers from the centre of the town shall be excluded from the demilitarized zone. The line will run from Ibrije-Burnu on the Aegean Sea, to Serbes-Burnu on the Black Sea;

(2) *In Greek territory*, from the Aegean Sea to the Greco-Bulgarian frontier: a line starting from Cape Makri (the village of Makri being excluded), thence northward generally parallel to the course of the Maritza as far as Tahtali, then passing eastward of Meherkoz to a point to be determined on the Greco-Bulgarian frontier, about 15 kilometers to the west of Kuchuk-Derbend;

(3) *In Bulgarian territory*, from the Greco-Bulgarian frontier to the Black Sea: a line running from the point defined above, crossing the road from Adrianople to Kossukavak at a point 5 kilometers to the west of Papas-Keul, thence running at a distance of at least 30 kilometers from the Greco-Bulgarian frontier, and from the Turco-Bulgarian frontier, except in the neighborhood of Harmanli, where the town itself, and an area within a radius of at least 5 kilometers from the centre of the town, shall be excluded from the demilitarized zone; the line shall reach the Black Sea at the head of the bay situated to the northwest of Anberler.

Article 2—A Boundary Commission, which shall be set up within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present Convention, shall settle and trace on the spot the boundaries defined in Article 1.

Article 3—The demilitarization of the zones defined in Article 1 shall be effected and maintained in accordance with the following provisions:

(1) All permanent fortifications and field works actually in existence shall be disarmed and dismantled by the power on whose territory they are situated. No new fortification or work of this nature shall be constructed, and no depot of arms or of war material or any other offensive or defensive installation of either a military, naval or aeronautical character shall be organized.

(2) No armed force, other than the special elements, such as gendarmerie, police, customs officers, frontier guards, necessary for ensuring internal order and the supervision of the frontiers, shall be stationed or move in the zones. The number of these special elements, which must not include any air force, shall not exceed: (a) in the demilitarized zone of Turkish territory a total of 5,000 men; (b) in the demilitarized zone of Greek territory a total of 2,500 men; (c) in the demilitarized zone of Bulgarian territory a total of 2,500 men. Their armament shall be composed only of revolvers, swords, rifles and four Lewis guns per 100 men, and will exclude any artillery. These provisions shall not affect the obligations incurred by Bulgaria under the Treaty of Neuilly of the 27th November, 1919.

(3) Military or naval aircraft of any flag whatsoever are forbidden to fly over the demilitarized zone.

Article 4—In the event of one of the bordering Powers whose territory forms the subject of the present Convention having any complaint to make respecting the observance of the preceding provisions, this complaint shall be brought by that Power before the Council of the League of Nations.

COMMERCIAL CONVENTIONS

Two conventions deal with residence and business and jurisdiction and with commercial matters. The first of these prescribes, "in accordance with modern international law, the conditions under which nationals of the other Contracting Powers may settle in Turkey and Turkish nationals may settle in the territory of those Powers, as well as certain matters relating to jurisdiction." It is provided that the conditions of residence and business shall be expressly subject to complete reciprocity. In regard to taxation, nationals of the Contracting Powers, other than Turkey, shall not be subjected to higher charges in any circumstances whatsoever. One of the clauses in this convention reads:

Article 13—The Capitulations having been abolished, Turkey will not grant to the nationals of foreign countries any treatment more favorable than that accorded to her own nationals, and will apply to her nationals and to the nationals of the other Contracting Parties

the principle of equality of treatment as regards the matters referred to in this Section.

Under the heading of jurisdiction the rights of free access to the courts and of suing and being sued are established as well as protection both as regards person and property.

The Commercial Convention deals with customs duties, import and export matters, and various questions of economic relationship between Turkey and the other Contracting Powers. Goods from the territories of those Powers are to be subject to the Turkish special tariff of Sept. 1, 1916. Turkey is to abolish all prohibitions of import and export except those which may be necessary for security, health and other reasons. Shipping, port services, and other matters of importance to commercial intercourse are dealt with. This convention is to remain in force five years.

EXCHANGE OF GREEK AND TURKISH POPULATIONS

The "Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" is an agreement between the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the Greek Government. The following are the more important parts of this convention, which consists of nineteen articles and a protocol:

Article 1—As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorization of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.

Article 2—The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1: (a) The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople; (b) The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. All Greeks who were already established before the 30th October, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople. All Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest shall be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

Article 3—Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October, 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange, provided for in Article 1. The expression "emigrant" in the present Convention includes all physical and juridical persons who have been obliged to emigrate or have emigrated since the 18th October, 1912.

Article 4—All able-bodied men belonging to the Greek population, whose families have already left Turkish territory, and who are now detained in Turkey, shall constitute the first instalment of Greeks sent to Greece in accordance with the present Convention.

Article 5—Subject to the provisions of Articles 9 and 10 of the present Convention, the rights of property and monetary assets of Greeks in Turkey or Moslems in Greece shall not be prejudiced in consequence of the exchange to be carried out under the present Convention.

Article 6—No obstacle may be placed for any reason whatever in the way of the departure of a person belonging to the populations which are to be exchanged. In the event of an emigrant having received a definite sentence of imprisonment, or a sentence which is not yet definitive, or of his being the object of criminal proceedings, he shall be handed over by the authorities of the prosecuting country to the authorities of the country whither he is going, in order that he may serve his sentence or be brought to trial.

Article 7—The emigrants will lose the nationality of the country which they are leaving, and will acquire the nationality of the country of their destination, upon their arrival in the territory of the latter country. Such emigrants as have already left one or other of the two countries and have not yet acquired their new nationality, shall acquire that nationality on the date of the signature of the present Convention.

Article 8—Emigrants shall be free to take away with them or to arrange for the transport of their movable property of every kind, without being liable on this account to the payment of any export or import duty or any other tax. Similarly, the members of each community (including the personnel of mosques, tekkes, meddresses, churches, convents, schools,

hospitals, societies, associations and juridical persons, or other foundations of any nature whatever) which are to leave the territory of one of the Contracting States under the present Convention, shall have the right to take away freely or to arrange for the transport of the movable property belonging to their communities. The fullest facilities for transport shall be provided by the authorities of the two countries, upon the recommendation of the Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11. Emigrants who may not be able to take away all or part of their movable property can leave it behind. In that event, the local authorities shall be required to draw up, the emigrant in question being given an opportunity to be heard, an inventory and valuation of the property left by him. * * *

Article 9—Immovable property, whether rural or urban, belonging to emigrants, or to the communities mentioned in Article 8, and the movable property left by these emigrants or communities, shall be liquidated in accordance with the following provisions by the Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11. Property situated in the districts to which the compulsory exchange applies and belonging to religious or benevolent institutions of the communities established in a district to which the exchange does not apply, shall likewise be liquidated under the same conditions.

Article 10—The movable and immovable property belonging to persons who have already left the territory of the High Contracting Parties and are considered, in accordance with Article 3 of the present Convention, as being included in the exchange of populations shall be liquidated in accordance with Article 9. This liquidation shall take place independently of all measures of any kind whatever, which, under the laws passed and the regulations of any kind made in Greece and in Turkey since the 18th October, 1912, or in any other way, have resulted in any restriction on rights of ownership over the property in question, such as confiscation, forced sale, &c. In the event of the property mentioned in this article or in Article 9 having been submitted to a measure of this kind, its value shall be fixed by the Commission provided for in Article 11, as if the measures in question had not been applied.

As regards expropriated property, the Mixed Commission shall undertake a fresh valuation of such property, if it has been expropriated since the 18th October, 1912, having previously belonged to persons liable to the exchange of populations in the two countries, and is situated in territories to which the exchange applies. The Commission shall fix for the benefit of the owners such compensation as will repair the injury which the Commission has ascertained. The total amount of this compensation shall be carried to the credit of these owners and to the debit of the Government on whose territory the expropriated property is situated. In the event of any person mentioned in Articles 8 and 9 not having received the income from property, the enjoyment of which they have lost in one way or another, the restoration of the amount of this income shall be guaranteed to them on the basis of the average yield of the property before the war, and in accordance with the methods to be laid down by the Mixed Commission. The Mixed Commission provided for in Article 11, when proceeding to the liquidation of *Wakf* property in Greece and of the rights and interests connected therewith, and to the liquidation of similar foundations belonging to Greeks in Turkey, shall follow the principles laid down in previous Treaties with a view to fully safeguarding the rights and interests of these foundations and of the individuals interested in them. * * *

Article 11—Within one month from the coming into force of the present Convention a Mixed Commission shall be set up in Turkey or in

Greece consisting of four members representing each of the High Contracting Parties, and of three members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations from among nationals of Powers which did not take part in the war of 1914-1918. * * *

Article 12—The duties of the Mixed Commission shall be to supervise and facilitate the emigration provided for in the present Convention, and to carry out the liquidation of the movable and immovable property for which provision is made in Articles 9 and 10. * * *

Article 14—The Commission shall transmit to the owner concerned a declaration stating the sum due to him in respect of the property of which he has been dispossessed, and such property shall remain at the disposal of the Government on whose territory it is situated. The total sums due on the basis of these declarations shall constitute a Government debt from the country where the liquidation takes place to the Government of the country to which the emigrant belongs. The emigrant shall in principle be entitled to receive in the country to which he emigrates, as representing the sums due to him, property of a value equal to and of the same nature as that which he has left behind. * * *

If a sum remains due from one of the Governments to the other Government after a balance has been struck, the debit balance shall be paid in cash. If the debtor Government requests a postponement in making this payment, the Commission may grant such postponement. * * * If the sum to be paid is fairly large and requires longer postponement, the debtor Government shall pay in cash a sum to be fixed by the Mixed Commission, up to a maximum of 20 per cent. of the total due, and shall issue in respect of the balance loan certificates bearing such interest as the Mixed Commission may fix, to be paid off within twenty years at most. The debtor Government shall assign to the service of these loans pledges approved by the Commission. * * * In the absence of agreement in regard to these pledges,

they shall be selected by the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 15—With a view to facilitating emigration, funds shall be advanced to the Mixed Commission by the States concerned, under conditions laid down by the said Commission.

Article 16—* * * The High Contracting Parties undertake mutually that no pressure direct or indirect shall be exercised on the populations which are to be exchanged with a view to making them leave their homes or abandon their property before the date fixed for their departure. They likewise undertake to impose on the emigrants who have left or who are to leave the country no special taxes or dues. No obstacle shall be placed in the way of the inhabitants of the districts excepted from the exchange under Article 2 exercising freely their right to remain in or return to those districts and to enjoy to the full their liberties and rights of property in Turkey and in Greece. This provision shall not be invoked as a motive for preventing the free alienation of property belonging to inhabitants of the said regions which are excepted from the exchange, or the voluntary departure of those among these inhabitants who wish to leave Turkey or Greece.

Article 19—The present Convention shall have the same force and effect as between the High Contracting Parties as if it formed part of the Treaty of Peace to be concluded with Turkey. It shall come into force immediately after the ratification of the said Treaty by the two High Contracting Parties.

The protocol, signed by the Turkish plenipotentiaries, declares that, without waiting for the coming into force of the convention, and by way of exception to Article 1 of the convention, the Turkish Government, on the signature of the treaty of peace, will release the able-bodied men referred to in Article 4 of the said convention, and will provide for their departure.

OTHER DOCUMENTS

The other instruments in which the settlement is embodied are as follows:

An agreement between Greece and Turkey for the reciprocal restitution of interned civilians and the exchange of prisoners of war.

A declaration of amnesty signed by the parties to the treaty, having for its aim "to cause the events which have troubled the peace in the East to be forgotten." It provides that neither Turks nor Greeks shall be disturbed or molested on account of any military or political action taken by them and that the Turkish and Greek Governments shall, with certain exceptions, grant full and complete amnesty for all crimes and offenses of a political nature.

A declaration signed on behalf of the Greek Government stating that there will be no infringement of rights to property held by Moslems who are not subject to the convention relating to the exchange of populations.

A declaration by the Turkish Government undertaking to appoint for a period of five years three European medical specialists as counselors for the sanitary administration of the frontiers.

A declaration by the Turkish Government relating to the administration of justice, stating its intention to take into its service a number of

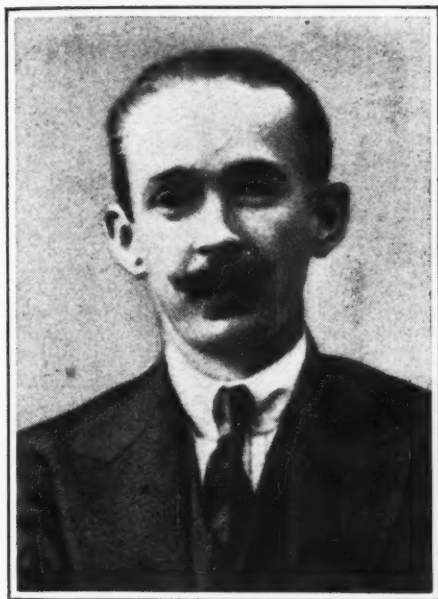
European legal counselors for reasons indicated in the following:

The Turkish Delegation has already had occasion to state that the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is in a position to ensure to foreigners before the Turkish Courts all the safeguards of a good judicial system and to provide therefor in the exercise of its full sovereignty and without any kind of foreign interference. It is nevertheless prepared to have an investigation made and to cause the situation to be studied with a view to the institution of such reforms as may be rendered advisable by the development of manners and civilization.

A protocol relating to certain concessions granted in the Ottoman Empire providing for the maintenance of contracts and subsequent agreements duly entered into before Oct. 29, 1914, between the Ottoman Government or any local authority and nationals (including companies) of the Contracting Powers other than Turkey.

A protocol signed by the Contracting Powers admitting Belgium and Portugal to accede to stipulations in the financial and economic clauses of the treaty, and declarations by the representatives of these two States to that effect.

A protocol relating to the evacuation of the Turkish territory occupied by the British, French and Italian forces providing that troops shall



Underwood

COLONEL K. E. CLAYTON-KENNEDY

The Canadian who has taken a prominent part in the negotiations with the Turkish Government in connection with the Chester Concession

proceed to the evacuation as soon as the treaty is ratified and also that the British, French and Italian naval units stationed in the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus shall be withdrawn. The evacuation is to be completed within six weeks, during which time the Military Convention signed at Mudania on Oct. 11, 1922, remains in force. A declaration appended to the protocol states on behalf of Turkey that until the Straits Convention comes into force the British, French and Italian fleets have full and complete liberty of passage through the Straits.

A protocol relating to the Karagatch territory and islands of Imbros and Tenedos, signed by the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece and Turkey, providing that the territory situated between the Maritza and the Greco-Turkish frontier shall be handed over to the Turkish authorities on Sept. 15, 1923, at latest, provided the treaty has been ratified by Turkey. The withdrawal of the Greek troops and authorities from Imbros and Tenedos is to take place as soon as the treaty is ratified by Greece and Turkey.

A protocol making reference to the Treaty of Sèvres is as follows:

The Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Greece, being of opinion that the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace and other instruments concluded during the present Conference will necessitate the bringing into force of the Treaty concluded at Sèvres on the 10th August, 1920, between the Principal Allied Powers and Greece concerning the protection of minorities in Greece, and of the Treaty relating to Thrace, also concluded on the 10th August, 1920, at Sèvres between the same Powers * * * agree as follows: * * *

1. The ratifications of the two Treaties concluded at Sèvres referred to above shall, if they have not already been deposited at that date, be deposited at the same time as the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace and Instruments signed this day at Lausanne.

2. The provisions of Article 7, second paragraph, and of Article 15 of the Treaty of Sèvres referred to above concerning the protection of minorities, are and remain abrogated.

3. The application of the provisions of Article 1 of the Treaty of Sèvres referred to above relating to Thrace will be limited in accordance with the terms of Article 2 (2) of the Treaty of Peace signed this day.

A protocol relating to the signature by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State (Jugoslavia), the plenipotentiaries of which did not sign the treaty or any of the other instruments on July 24, 1923, permitting that State to sign them simultaneously at Paris at any time before the coming into force of the treaty of peace.

Appended to the above are various letters and other subsidiary documents dealing with matters of secondary importance or questions of detail such as the exemption from taxation of allied nationals who suffered from the Smyrna fire, the suppression of the article (No. 70) of the original draft treaty of peace relating to the financial operations of the Council of the Ottoman Debt since Oct. 30, 1918, the treatment to be accorded by the Turkish Government to British religions, scholastic and medical establishments and charitable institutions in Turkey, cabotage (shipping trade from one port to another of the same State), concessions to the two British firms of Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., Limited, and Vickers, Limited, and the maintenance of the concession contracts with regard to the Anatolian, Bagdad, Mersina-Adana and Oriental Railways and the Haidar Pasha Harbor.

Finally, a convention between the British Empire, France, Italy and Greece settles the method of repayment by the Greek Government of debts resulting from the actions of the Greek authorities in Turkey and owing to nationals of the other Contracting Powers and to companies in which on June 1, 1921, the interests of the latter were preponderant.



THE TURCO-AMERICAN TREATY

Terms of the peace concluded by the United States after the signing of the Lausanne Treaty between the Allies and Turkey

IMMEDIATELY after the signing of the treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Turkey the State Department at Washington issued the following statement and with it a summary of the terms of the treaty:

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey were severed on April 20, 1917. Although no declaration of war followed, there have been no official relations between the two countries from that date. Since 1919 the interests of the United States have been protected by an American High Commissioner at Constantinople. Peace negotiations between the allied powers and Turkey were instituted early in 1920 and resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres on Aug. 10, 1920. This treaty was not ratified by Turkey. The United States was not a party to the treaty.

The allied powers subsequently invited Turkey to a conference which assembled at Lausanne on Nov. 20, 1922, for the purpose of establishing peace in the Near East and to revise the Treaty of Sèvres. The Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy, having informed this Government that they would welcome American representation at the conference, this Government sent to Lausanne Richard Washburn Child, the American Ambassador at Rome; Rear Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the American High Commissioner at Constantinople, and Joseph C. Grew, the American Minister at Berne. The American representatives followed the proceedings of the conference and expressed this Government's position in matters of direct American interest and of general humanitarian concern. As the United States had not been at war with Turkey and was not negotiating a treaty of peace with that country, this Government did not become a party to the allied treaty.

On Feb. 4, 1923, the conference was suspended owing to the rejection by the Turkish delegates of certain clauses in the proposed allied treaty. A second session of the Lausanne Conference began on April 23, 1923, and continued until July 24, when a treaty of peace between the allied powers and Turkey was signed. During this second part of the conference Minister Grew was the American representative.

The prospective conclusion of peace between the principal allied powers and Turkey made it appear advisable, in order appropriately to protect American interests, that the relations between the United States and Turkey be regularized at an early date. This appeared all the more neces-

sary in view of the fact that in the course of the allied negotiations with Turkey the abrogation of the capitulations had been agreed to.

On May 5, 1923, Ismet Pasha, the principal Turkish delegate at the Lausanne Conference, wrote to Minister Grew proposing the negotiation of a treaty of amity and commerce. The Department of State thereupon authorized Mr. Grew to begin informal conversations with the Turkish delegates to ascertain whether a proper basis for negotiations could be found. Those conversations were followed by formal negotiations, and full powers were sent to Mr. Grew. A treaty of extradition was also negotiated.

After almost three months of negotiation, the department, on the afternoon of Aug. 2, authorized Mr. Grew to sign the treaty of amity and commerce and the treaty of extradition. The department is now informed that these treaties were signed at Lausanne on Monday, Aug. 6, 1923.

A summary of the treaty of amity and commerce, which comprises thirty-two articles, and which assures to the United States and its nationals in Turkey treatment as favorable as that accorded to any other nation, is given below. The extradition treaty contains the usual provisions of such treaties and calls for no special comment.

Ismet Pasha has also communicated to Mr. Grew copies of the Turkish declaration with regard to the designation by the Turkish Government of foreign judicial advisers and a communication with regard to foreign schools and institutions in Turkey, assuring to such American institutions the same treatment as enjoyed by the like institutions of any foreign power, and defining in some detail the rights and privileges to be accorded these institutions.

SUMMARY OF THE TREATY

Preamble—The purpose of the Treaty is to regulate the conditions of intercourse between the United States and Turkey and to define the rights of their respective nationals in the territory of the other in accordance with the principles of international law and on the basis of reciprocity.

Article 1—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded to the diplomatic officers of the two countries.

Article 2 provides for the abrogation of the capitulations relating to the régime of foreigners in Turkey, both as regards conditions of entry and residence and as regards fiscal and judicial questions.

Article 3—Nationals of the High Contracting Parties have full liberty of entry, travel and residence upon conforming to the laws of the country, and shall enjoy protection in conformity with international law. Their property shall not be taken without due process of law or without indemnity. They may, under the local laws and regulations in force, engage in every kind of profession, commerce, &c., not forbidden by laws to all foreigners. They shall have the right to possess and dispose of all kinds of mov-

able property on a footing of equality with the nationals of the country. As regards immovable property, the nationals of each country shall, in the territory of the other, enjoy the treatment generally accorded to foreigners by the laws of the place where the property is situated, subject to reciprocity. They may own, lease and construct buildings for residential purposes or any other purpose permitted by the present treaty. Upon conforming to the laws they shall enjoy liberty of conscience and worship and shall, equally with the nationals of the country, have free access to the tribunals.

Article 4—Commercial, industrial and financial companies and associations, organized under the laws of the United States and Turkey and maintaining head offices in the country in which they are organized, shall be recognized by the other country provided they pursue no aims contrary to its laws. They shall be entitled to the same protection as that accorded to nationals in Article 3. Subject to the applicable laws they shall have free access to the courts. Such companies and associations shall, subject to the laws in force in the country, have the right to acquire, possess and dispose of every kind of movable property. As regards immovable property and the right to engage in commerce and industry, such companies shall enjoy, on condition of reciprocity, the treatment generally accorded by the laws in the locality where such companies are constituted. They shall be able freely to carry on their activities subject to the requirements of public order.

Article 5—Domiciliary visits and searches of dwellings, warehouses, factories, et cetera, of nationals or companies, as well as the inspection of books, accounts, et cetera, shall take place only under the conditions and in the form prescribed by the laws with respect to the nationals of the country.

Article 6—The nationals of one country in the territory of the other shall not be subject to military service, and both individuals and companies shall be exempt from forced loans or other exceptional levies on property.

Article 7—The nationals of each country shall be accorded, in the territory of the other, the same treatment as natives in all matters concerning the collection of taxes, imposts and other charges. The companies mentioned in Article 4 shall, on condition of reciprocity, enjoy the same treatment as any similar foreign company. But this Article does not apply to exemption from taxes, &c., accorded to State institutions or to concessionaires of a public utility.

Article 8—In matters of personal status and family law (e. g., marriage, divorce, dowry, adoption, &c.), and, as regards movable property, the law of succession, liquidation, &c., citizens of the United States in Turkey shall be subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the tribunals or other national authorities of the United States sitting outside of Turkey. This does not affect the special rights of consuls in matters of civil status under international law, or special agreements, nor does it preclude the Turkish tribunals from requiring proof regarding matters coming within the competence of the national tribunals of the interested parties. Turkish tribunals may also have jurisdiction in the above-mentioned cases, provided all interested parties submit thereto in writing.

Article 9 provides for freedom of commerce and navigation between the two countries upon most-favored-nation treatment, subject to sanitary, police and customs regulations. The merchant ships of the two countries shall not be subjected to higher tonnage dues or port charges than national vessels. However, this Article and other provisions of the Treaty do not apply to the coastwise trade.

Article 10—Merchant and war vessels and aircraft of the United States enjoy complete liberty of navigation and passage in the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus on a basis of equality with similar craft of the most favored nation, subject to the rules relating to

such navigation and passage of the Straits Convention of Lausanne of July 24, 1923.

Article 11—Most-favored-nation treatment as regards import duties is accorded to articles exported from one country to the other, and no export duty is to be levied higher than that imposed upon similar articles exported to any other foreign country. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the importation or exportation of an article which is not equally applied to those of the most favored nation. Vessels and goods of the two countries shall be accorded the same facilities accorded to those of a third country, irrespective of any favors granted by the third State in return for special treatment. This Article does not apply to the commerce between the United States and Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone, nor to special arrangements between Turkey and the countries detached from the Ottoman Empire since 1914.

Article 12—Most-favored-nation treatment is provided as regards the collection of consumption, excise, octroi and other local taxes on merchandise.

Article 13—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded all merchandise as regards transit warehousing, drawbacks, &c.

Article 14—No dues for tonnage, harbor, pilotage, &c., shall be levied on any vessel which are not equally levied on national vessels.

Article 15—Any vessel carrying papers required by its laws shall be deemed to be a vessel of the country whose flag it flies.

Article 16—Most-favored-nation treatment is accorded regarding patents, trademarks, &c.

Articles 17 to 26 define in detail the rights and duties of consular officers.

Article 27 provides for the protection of shipwrecked vessels and the operations of salvage.

Article 28—For the purpose of the present treaty the territories of the two countries are considered to comprise all land, water and air over which sovereignty is exercised, except the Panama Canal Zone.

Article 29—No taxes are to be collected from American citizens for any taxable periods prior to the fiscal year 1922-1923 which, under the laws in force on August 1, 1914, were not applicable to them. Any taxes collected after May 15, 1923, on periods prior to the fiscal year 1922 will be returned, but no taxes collected before May 15, 1923, for periods prior to May 15, 1923, will be returned.

Article 30—All previous treaties between the United States and Turkey are abrogated. A new Extradition Treaty is to replace the one of 1874.

Article 31—The Treaty shall come into force two months after the exchange of ratifications. Articles 1 and 2 shall be permanent. Articles 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 shall be for the duration of seven years, while Articles 9 to 28 shall remain in force for five years. If neither country notifies the other six months before the expiration of these periods of its intention to denounce any of the Articles in question, they shall remain in force until the expiration of a period of six months from the date on which they shall have been denounced.

Article 32—The French, English and Turkish text of this treaty shall be ratified. In case of differences the French text shall prevail. Ratifications are to be exchanged at Constantinople as soon as possible.

An agreement was not reached with regard to the manner of settlement of claims against the respective Governments. Mr. Grew exchanged communications with Ismet Pasha which provided for further considerations of this question at an early date, and reserved the right of the two Governments to withhold ratification of the treaties until an accord on the point had been reached.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AFTER 100 YEARS

By CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
Secretary of State of the United States

A historic review of the origin and evolution of the Monroe Doctrine delivered originally before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on August 30, 1923, with a special foreword written by the Secretary for Current History Magazine

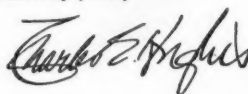
DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
WASHINGTON.

August 24, 1925.

Editor of Current History.

As this is the one hundredth anniversary of the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, it is fitting that the attention of our people should be directed to its true content, its permanent place in our foreign policy, and to the beneficent cooperation which we desire with the peoples of Latin American States, whose independence and sovereignty are in no way infringed by the historic policy which the Doctrine embodies. In my address before the American Bar Association, I have sought to make these matters clear.

Very sincerely yours,



THE postulates of our foreign policy were determined by the ideals of liberty. The dominant motive was the security of the Republic; it was a policy of "live and let live," with no imperialistic designs or thought of aggression. There was a deep-seated conviction that the opportunities of a hard-won freedom would be threatened by the ambitions of Euro-

pean powers constantly seeking their own aggrandizement by the forcible imposition of their will upon weaker peoples, and that the peaceful aims of the new nation could be achieved only by keeping clear of the toils of European politics and strife. It was this conviction of the necessity of maintaining an independent position which led to the declaration of neutrality in 1793

despite the treaty of alliance with France, which had sprung from the exigencies of the Revolutionary struggle. The words of the Farewell Address were more than a solemn admonition of the foremost American patriot—they set forth principles which those who established our foreign policy held to be its cornerstone.

It is interesting to recall that the conduct of our foreign affairs was directed for many years

by a few men, the most enlightened of our statesmen, and, considering the perplexities which vexed the new nation, exhibited a remarkable continuity and definiteness of purpose. Jefferson had been Secretary of State for about four years under Washington, and Hamilton had been a constant adviser. During the eight years of Jefferson's Presidency Madison was Secretary of State; and, during Madison's two terms as President, James Monroe was Secretary of State for six years. Monroe had served as United States Senator and Governor of Virginia; had been Minister to France, to Spain, and to England; had been engaged in the most important diplomatic negotiations; and in the midst of the War of 1812 had also served as Secretary of War *ad interim*. When he became President in 1817, Monroe appointed John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State. Adams had been Minister to The Hague and to Portugal under Washington; had been transferred to Prussia by his father, President John Adams, and, under Madison, had been Minister to Russia; and, after representing the United States throughout the difficult negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent, had been made Minister to England. Adams served as Secretary of State until the end of Monroe's second term in 1825, when he succeeded Monroe as President. In these close relations and continuity of service there was rare opportunity for the early development of a distinctively American policy reflecting the ripe wisdom of our ablest men.

The Monroe Doctrine had its dramatic setting as a striking and carefully formulated announcement, but it was in no sense a departure or something novel or strange engrafted

upon American policy. It was the fruition of that policy, and the new definition was in complete accord with principles long cherished and made almost sacred by the lessons of experience. The people of the United States had watched with deep sympathy the long struggle of our southern neighbors for independence. "In contemplating the scenes which distinguish this momentous epoch," said President Madison to the Congress in 1811, "an enlarged philanthropy and enlightened forecast concur in im-

posing upon the national councils an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies, to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good-will." But, notwithstanding our natural sympathies, we remained neutral in the contest. "All Europe must expect," said President Monroe in 1820, "that the citizens of the United States wish success to the colonies, and all that they can claim, even Spain herself, is that we will maintain an impartial neutrality between the parties. By taking this ground openly and frankly we acquit ourselves to our own consciences, we accommodate with the feelings of our constituents, we render to the colonies all

the aid that we can render them, for I am satisfied that had we even joined them in the war we should have done them more harm than good, as we might have drawn all Europe on them, not to speak of the injury we should have done to ourselves."

While Spain maintained a doubtful contest, it was regarded as a civil war, but when that contest became so desperate that Spanish viceroys, governors, and captains-general concluded treaties with the insurgents virtually acknowledging their independence, the United States frankly and unreservedly recognized the fact without, as Secretary Adams said, "making their acknowledgment the price of any favor to themselves, and although at the hazard of incurring the displeasure of Spain." And in this measure, he added with pride, the United States "have taken the lead of the whole civilized world." The Republic of Colombia was recognized in 1822, the Government of Buenos Aires and the States of Mexico and Chile early in 1823. Deeply interested as we were in the development of



JAMES MONROE

Fifth President of the United States, 1817-1825;
Secretary of State, 1811-1817

republican institutions, the United States did not hesitate because of the political form of government and was the first to recognize the independent Empire of Brazil in May, 1824, and this was followed by the recognition of the Federation of Central American States in August of the same year.

ORIGIN OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Meanwhile, the Holy Alliance formed by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia and Prussia had sought to enforce the divine right of kings against the progress of liberal principles. Joined by France, they undertook "to put an end to the system of representative government," and after France had proceeded accordingly to restore the rule of Ferdinand VII. in Spain, it was proposed to direct their efforts to the overthrowing of the new Governments erected out of the old colonies of Spain in the Western Hemisphere. This was the situation 100 years ago—in August, 1823—when George Canning, British Foreign Secretary, wrote his celebrated letter to Richard Rush, American Minister in London, suggesting a joint declaration, in substance, that the recovery of the colonies by Spain was hopeless; that neither Great Britain nor the United States was aiming at the possession of any portion of these colonies; and that they could not see with indifference any portion of them transferred to any other power. Great Britain, however, had not at that time recognized the new States in Spanish America, and this made a point of distinction. You doubtless have in mind these familiar facts and will remember the correspondence which followed between President Monroe and Jefferson and Madison, whose advice he sought. It was after mature deliberation by the President and his Cabinet, which contained not only John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, but John C. Calhoun and William Wirt, that the American position was formally stated. It was deemed advisable to make a separate declaration of policy and this was formulated in President Monroe's message of Dec. 2, 1823.

The doctrine is set forth in two paragraphs of this message. The first of these had a genesis distinct from the situation of the former colonies of Spain. It grew out of the question of Russian claims on the northwest coast of North America. The Russian Emperor had issued a ukase in 1821 prohibiting citizens of other nations from navigating and fishing within 100 Italian miles of the northwest coast of North America from Bering Strait to the fifty-first parallel of north latitude. Protests had followed. In July, 1823, Secretary Adams informed the Russian Minister that the United States "should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly

the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments." It was in connection with this pretension of Russia that President Monroe, after adverting to the proposal of arranging the respective rights and interests on the northwest coast by amicable negotiations, declared in his message:

In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

The other paragraph of President Monroe's message bore upon the situation of our neighbors to the south as follows:

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are involved or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more intimately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America . . .

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

That these statements not only constituted a separate announcement but incorporated a distinctively American policy is manifest. Canning himself, in his letter to Bagot, of Jan. 9, 1824, pointed out that the general agreement between the sentiments of the Governments of Great Britain and the United States as to the Spanish colonies was qualified, as I have said, by the most important difference that the United States had acknowledged their independence and the British Government had not. And with the portion of President Monroe's message relating to future colonization, which lay entirely outside the purview of Canning's suggestion, Canning was not at all in sympathy. This proposal, he said, was as new to the British Government as to that of France. The basis of the objection on the part of this Government to future colonization by European powers was found in the fact, as Mr. Adams said later, when President, that "with the exception of

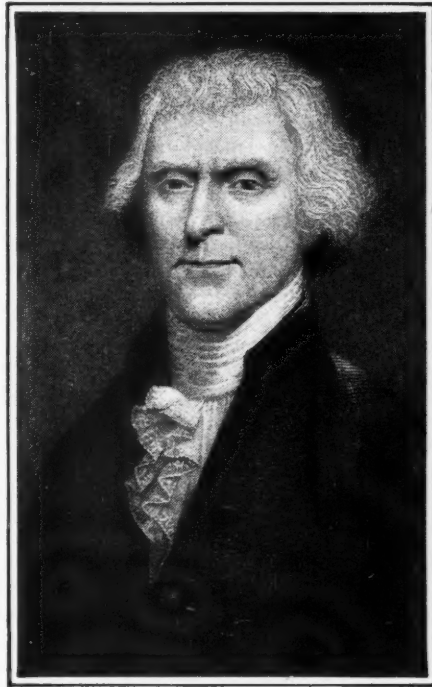
the existing European colonies, which it was in nowise intended to disturb, the two continents consisted of several sovereign and independent nations, whose territories covered their whole surface. By this, their independent condition, the United States enjoyed the right of commercial intercourse with every part of their possessions. To attempt the establishment of a colony in those possessions would be to usurp, to the exclusion of others, a commercial intercourse which was the common possession of all."

Not only did American statesmen fear the extension of European colonization but they viewed with deep concern the possibility of the transfer of American territory from one European power to another. In 1811 Congress passed a resolution as to East Florida, stating that "considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the Southern border of the United States may have upon their security, tranquility and commerce" the United States could not "without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power." The declarations in the messages of President Polk in 1845 and 1848 were so closely associated with the doctrine announced by Monroe as to be deemed to fall within the same governing principle. President Polk's reference to "the transfer of dominion and sovereignty" clearly stated opposition to the acquisition of territorial control by any means. And this position has frequently been reiterated by the Government of the United States.

WHAT THE DOCTRINE IS AND IS NOT

It is not my purpose to review the historical applications of what is called the Monroe Doctrine or to attempt to harmonize the various redactions of it. Properly understood, it is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American States under any guise and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power.

The Monroe Doctrine is not a legislative pronouncement; it has been approved by action of Congress, but it does not rest upon any Congressional sanction. It has had the implied endorsement of the treaty-making power in the reservations to the two Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, but it is not defined by treaty and does not draw its force from any international agreement. It is not like a constitutional provision deriving its authority from the fact that it is a part of the organic law transcending and limiting executive and legislative power. It is not a part of international law, maintained by the consent of the civilized powers and alterable only at their will. It is a policy declared by the Executive of the United States and repeated in one form and another by Presidents and Sec-



THOMAS JEFFERSON
Third President of the United States,
1801-1809; Secretary of State, 1789-1794

retaries of State in the conduct of our foreign relations. Its significance lies in the fact that in its essentials, as set forth by President Monroe and as forcibly and repeatedly asserted by our responsible statesmen, it has been for one hundred years, and continues to be, an integral part of our national thought and purpose, expressing a profound conviction which even the upheaval caused by the great war, and our participation in that struggle upon European soil, has not uprooted or fundamentally changed.

Taking the Doctrine as it has been, and as it is believed to remain, I desire to comment upon certain points which, as I believe, deserve special emphasis at this time.

First—The Monroe Doctrine is not a policy of aggression; it is a policy of self-defense. It was asserted at a time when the danger of foreign aggression in this hemisphere was very real, when the new American States had not yet established a firm basis of independent national life, and we were menaced by threats of Old World powers directed against republican institutions. But the achievements of the century have not altered the scope of the Doctrine or changed its basis. It still remains an assertion of the principle of national security. As such, it is obviously not exclusive. Much time has been wasted in the endeavor

to find in the Monroe Doctrine either justification or the lack of it for every governmental declaration or action in relation to other American States. Appropriate action for our defense may always be taken, and our proper influence to promote peace and good-will may always be exerted, with the use of good offices to that end, whether or not the particular exigency comes within the range of the specific declarations which constitute the Doctrine.

In 1912 the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution, apparently having immediate reference to Magdalena Bay, "that when any harbor or other place in the American continent is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power or control for naval or military purposes." It was explained in debate that this resolution, while allied to the Monroe Doctrine, was "not necessarily dependent upon it or growing out of it." It was said to rest "on the principle that every nation has a right to protect its own safety, and that if it feels that the possession by a foreign power for military or naval purposes of any given harbor or place is prejudicial to its safety it is its duty as well as its right to interfere."

DISTINCTIVELY AMERICAN POLICY

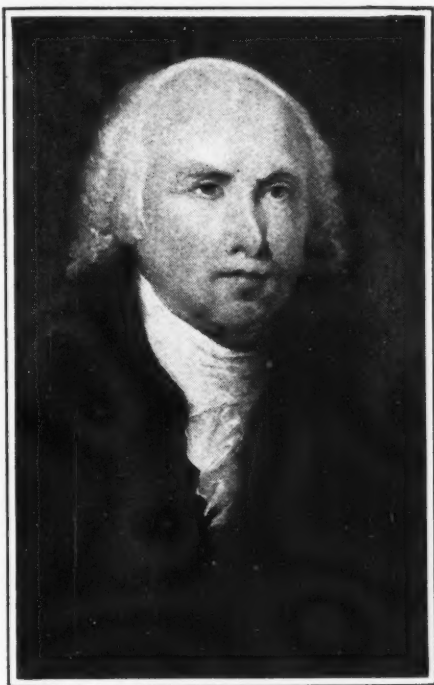
The decision of the question as to what action the United States should take in any exigency arising in this hemisphere is not controlled by the content of the Monroe Doctrine, but may always be determined on grounds of international right and national security as freely as if the Monroe Doctrine did not exist. The essential character of that Doctrine is found in its particularization, in the definite and limited application of the general principle relating to national safety to a particular set of circumstances; that is, in the assertion and maintenance of opposition to the encroachment by non-American powers upon the political independence of American States and to the extension by non-American powers of their control over American territory. And in this pronouncement, as a phase of our exercise of the right of self-defense, there is no hint, much less threat, of aggression on our part. Said President Roosevelt: "It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by any New World power at the expense of any other."

Second—As the policy embodied in the Monroe Doctrine is distinctively the policy of the United

States, the Government of the United States reserves to itself its definition, interpretation and application. This Government has welcomed the recognition by other Governments of the fact and soundness of this policy and of the appropriateness of its application from time to time. Great powers have signified their acquiescence in it. But the United States has not been disposed to enter into engagements which would have the effect of submitting to any other power or to any concert of powers the determination either of the occasions upon which the principles of the Monroe Doctrine shall be invoked or of the measures that shall be taken in giving it effect. This Government has not been willing to make the Doctrine or the regulation of its enforcement the subject of treaties with European powers; and, while the United States has been gratified at expressions on the part of other American States of their accord with our Government in its declarations with respect to their independence and at their determination to maintain it, this Government in asserting and pursuing its policy has commonly avoided concerted action to maintain the Doctrine, even with the American republics. As President Wilson observed: "The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the United States on her own authority. It always has been maintained and always will be maintained upon her own responsibility."

This implies neither suspicion nor estrangement. It simply means that the United States is asserting a separate national right of self-defense, and that in the exercise of this right it must have an unhampered discretion. As Mr. Root has pithily said: "Since the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration based upon the nation's right of self-protection, it cannot be transmuted into a joint or common declaration by American States or any number of them." They have, of course, corresponding rights of self-defense, but the right is individual to each.

Further, in its own declarations the United States has never bound itself to any particular course of conduct in case of action by other powers contrary to the principles announced. In any such event it is free to act according to its conception of the emergency and of its duty. Dana, commenting upon this point in 1866 (in his edition of Wheaton), said: "The declarations do not intimate any course of conduct to be pursued in case of such interpositions, but merely say that they would be 'considered as dangerous to our peace and safety' and as 'the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States,' which it would be impossible for us to 'behold with indifference,' thus leaving the nation to act at all times as its opinion of its policy or duty might require." This is equally true today; but it may be added that this carefully preserved freedom does not detract



JAMES MADISON

Fourth President of the United States,
1809-1817; Secretary of State, 1801-1809

from the tenacity with which the Doctrine is held, but, like the Doctrine itself, has been maintained as essential to our independence and security.

Third—The policy of the Monroe Doctrine does not infringe upon the independence and sovereignty of other American States. Misconception upon this point is the only disturbing influence in our relations with Latin-American States. Great republics, whose independent sovereignty has been safeguarded by the historic Doctrine, no longer fear the danger of encroachments and control by European powers, but look with apprehension at the expansion, vast resources, rapidly growing population, and formidable strength of the Republic of the North. They do not feel the need of protection against European powers, and the Monroe Doctrine is apt to be conceived, and criticised, as a suggestion of a policy of interference in their internal affairs.

This notion springs from a misunderstanding of the Doctrine itself and of our national sentiment and purpose. We have frequently sought to remove it, and we must continue our efforts to render futile the aspersions of the few, here and abroad, misapprehending or distorting American opinion. In speaking last year at Rio de Janeiro on the occasion of the dedi-

cation of the site for the American Centennial Monument, I sought to reassert what I believed to be the actual sentiment of the American people in these words: "We shall also be glad to have this monument associated in the thought of our friends with a true appraisal of our North American ideals and aspirations. You, my fellow-countrymen of the United States, know full well how sincerely we desire the independence, the unimpaired sovereignty and political integrity, and the constantly increasing prosperity of the peoples of Latin America. We have our domestic problems incident to the expanding life of a free people, but there is no imperialistic sentiment among us to cast even a shadow across the pathway of our progress. We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others; and we assert no rights for ourselves that we do not accord to others. We sincerely desire to see throughout this hemisphere an abiding peace, the reign of justice, and the diffusion of the blessings of a beneficent co-operation. It is this desire which forms the basis of the Pan-American sentiment."

EFFECT ON LATIN-AMERICAN STATES

The Monroe Doctrine does not attempt to establish a protectorate over Latin-American States. Certainly, the declaration that intervention by non-American powers encroaching upon the independence of American States will be regarded as dangerous to our own safety gives no justification for such intervention on our part. If such foreign interposition is deemed menacing to us, and our vigorous determination to oppose it serves to safeguard the independence of American States, they can have no just objection on that score, being the more secure to develop their own life without hindrance. The declaration against acquisition by non-American powers of American territory even by transfer might seem, at first glance, to furnish some basis for objection (although plainly in the interest of the integrity of American States), as an interference with the right of cession—but even this theoretical objection disappears when we consider the ground of the declaration upon this point by the Government of the United States. That ground is found in the recognized right which every State enjoys, and the United States no less than any other, to object to acts done by other powers which threaten its own safety. The United States has all the rights of sovereignty, as well as any other power; we have lost none of our essential rights because we are strong, and other American States have gained none either because of increasing strength or relative weakness. The maxim of the civil law—*"sic utere tuo ut alienam non laedas"* ["So use your own property as not to damage that of others"]—may be applied to States where their action threatens the safety of another State.

Mr. Charles Ceney Hyde, in his recent work on international law—a work which will be of lasting credit to the American bar—sums up the matter in saying: “It is subversive of justice among nations that any State should, in the exercise of its own freedom of action, directly endanger the peace and safety of any other which has done no wrong. Upon such an occurrence the State which is menaced is free to act. For the moment it is justified in disregarding the political independence of the aggressor and in so doing it may be guided by the requirements of its own defense. * * * It is not, therefore, the broad ground of self-preservation, but the narrower yet firmer basis of one form of self-preservation, that of self-defense, on which justification rests.” Of the immediate application of this sound principle to the Monroe Doctrine Mr. Root has given a complete exposition. Speaking of the right of self-protection, as recognized by international law and as a necessary corollary of independent sovereignty, he says: “It is well understood that the exercise of the right of self-protection may, and frequently does, extend in its effect beyond the limits of the territorial jurisdiction of the State exercising it. The strongest example probably would be the mobilization of an army by another power immediately across the frontier. Every act done by the other power may be within its own territory. Yet the country threatened by this state of facts is justified in protecting itself by immediate war. The most common exercise of the right of self-protection outside a State’s own territory and in time of peace is the interposition of objection to the occupation of territory of points of strategic military or maritime advantage or to indirect accomplishment of this effect by dynastic arrangement.” The Monroe Doctrine rests “upon the right of every sovereign State to protect itself by preventing a condition of affairs in which it will be too late to protect itself.” This right we recognize in our sister republics of this hemisphere as we claim it for ourselves. American sentiment, it is believed, despite changes of circumstance, still regards the acquisition of additional control of American territory by non-American powers as a menace to our safety, and in asserting and maintaining this view in the interest of our peace and security in the future we not only do not interfere practically with the independence of our sister republics of the South but we simply assert a right which corresponds to rights which they themselves enjoy, and hence even in theory this assertion does not infringe upon their sovereignty.

The declaration of our purpose to oppose what is inimical to our safety does not imply an attempt to establish a protectorate any more than a similar assertion by any one of the great southern republics of opposition to conduct on the part of any of the others endanger-

ing its security would aim at the establishment of a protectorate. I utterly disclaim, as unwarranted, the observations which occasionally have been made implying a claim on our part to superintend the affairs of our sister republics, to assert an overlordship, to consider the spread of our authority beyond our own domain as the aim of our policy, and to make our power the test of right in this hemisphere. I oppose all such misconceived and unsound assertions or intimations. They do not express our national purpose; they belie our sincere friendship; they are false to the fundamental principles of our institutions and of our foreign policy, which has sought to reflect, with rare exceptions, the ideals of liberty; they menace us by stimulating a distrust which has no real foundation. They find no sanction whatever in the Monroe Doctrine. There is room in this hemisphere, without danger of collision, for the complete recognition of that Doctrine and the independent sovereignty of the Latin-American republics.

Fourth—There are, indeed, modern conditions and recent events which cannot fail to engage our attention. We have grown rich and powerful, but we have not outgrown the necessity, in justice to ourselves and without injustice to others, of safeguarding our future peace and security. By building the Panama Canal we have not only established a new and convenient highway of commerce, but we have created new exigencies and new conditions of strategy and defense. It is for us to protect that highway. It may also be necessary for us at some time to build another canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans and to protect that. I believe that the sentiment of American people is practically unanimous that in the interest of our national safety we could not yield to any foreign power the control of the Panama Canal, or the approaches to it, or the obtaining of any position which would interfere with our right of protection or would menace the freedom of our communications.

THE SITUATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

So far as the region of the Caribbean Sea is concerned, it may be said that if we had no Monroe Doctrine we should have to create one. And this is not to imply any limitation on the scope of the Doctrine, as originally proclaimed and as still maintained, but simply to indicate that new occasions require new applications of an old principle which remains completely effective. What has taken place of late years in the region of the Caribbean has given rise to much confusion of thought and misapprehension of purpose. As I have said, the Monroe Doctrine as a particular declaration in no way exhausts American right or policy; the United States has



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Sixth President of the United States,
1825-1829; Secretary of State, 1817-1825

rights and obligations which that doctrine does not define. And in the unsettled condition of certain countries in the region of the Caribbean it has been necessary to assert these rights and obligations as well as the limited principles of the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1898 the United States intervened in Cuba in the cause of humanity and because of a condition of affairs at our very door so injurious to our interests that it had become intolerable. In view of the distress, miseries and barbarities that existed, our action, as John Bassett Moore has said, "was analogous to what is known in private law as the abatement of a nuisance." In the settlement that followed the establishment of Cuban independence Cuba agreed "that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba." Cuba also agreed not to enter into any treaty with any foreign power which would tend to impair her independence, "nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by

colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise lodgment in or control of any portion of said island." There were also restrictive provisions as to the contracting of debts. The United States thus holds a special position in relation to Cuba, but it should be pointed out and clearly understood that, while in view of this position we have acted as the friendly adviser of the Cuban Government, our action has been solely for the purpose of aiding in maintaining the independence and stability of Cuba and thus not to create but to preclude the necessity of intervention under the treaty by encouraging the Cuban people to eliminate waste and corruption, to reduce public expenses to the normal requirements of Government, and to secure the just and efficient administration which will safeguard the desired independence of Cuba and promote the prosperity which, with their abundant natural resources, the Cuban people are entitled to enjoy.

It is impossible for me to review in any detail the events which led to the occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti. In Santo Domingo, during the forty years prior to 1907, there had been sixteen revolutionary movements, and complete political and economic demoralization had resulted. The total debts of the Dominican Republic amounted to about \$20,000,000, and in 1907 a convention was concluded between the Governments of the United States and Santo Domingo for the issue of bonds to that amount and providing for the appointment by the President of the United States of a general receiver of customs. The Government of the United States agreed to give to the general receiver and his assistants such protection as it might find to be requisite for the performance of their duties. While this arrangement was most advantageous to Santo Domingo and for a time there was an improvement in conditions, there was a recurrence of revolutionary disturbances and the Dominican Government failed to observe the terms of the convention. When civil war was imminent the United States landed naval forces to prevent further bloodshed and to protect the lives of foreigners. A military Government was established in 1916 and until recent months was continued in the interest of public order.

This occupation was due to the demonstration, to use the phrase of President Roosevelt, of an impotence resulting in the lessening of the ties of civilized society and thus requiring intervention. But the point that I desire to make is that instead of using this opportunity, as has falsely been charged, to establish a permanent control of Santo Domingo, the Government of the United States has been solicitous to arrange for the termination of the occupation and the withdrawal of its forces and has devoted its endeavors, earnestly and effectively, to the as-

sistance of the Dominican people in establishing a sound basis for an independent Government. Accordingly, as a result of conversations with prominent Dominican representatives, a formal agreement was reached on June 30, 1922, upon a plan of evacuation. The plan provided for a Provisional Government which was to take over the executive departments from the American military Government, the American officials remaining in Santo Domingo only for the purpose of lending their assistance to the respective Secretaries of the Provisional Government. The military forces of the United States were to be concentrated at not more than three places, and order was to be maintained during the tenure of office of the Provisional Government by the Dominican national police under the orders of the Provisional Government.

The Provisional President was to promulgate legislation regarding the holding of elections and the reorganization of the Government of the provinces and communes; he was also to convene the primary assemblies in accordance with the provision of the new election laws. Electoral colleges were to be elected and were in turn to elect the members of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies and to present the lists of the members of the judiciary to be submitted to the Senate. Provision was made for amendments to the Constitution, the negotiation of an appropriate convention of ratification, and the establishment of a permanent Government, whereupon the military forces of the United States would be withdrawn. On Oct. 21, 1922, the Provisional President was accordingly inaugurated. Last March the new electoral law was promulgated. The Provisional Government has also promulgated legislation providing for the reorganization of the Provincial and Municipal Governments of the republic. It is expected that elections in which the authorities of the United States will not intervene will be held about the middle of September and in due course the permanent Government will be established. The United States intervened in the interest of peace and order and when these are assured it is not only willing but glad to withdraw.

CONDITIONS IN HAITI

In order to understand conditions in Haiti it should be recalled that since the Republic of Haiti gained its independence it has been the scene of almost continuous revolution. This is true of its recent history as well as of the earlier years. From 1886, when General Salomon completed his full Presidential term, until 1915 every President except one had been overthrown by revolution, some escaping to near-by islands, others being assassinated. As a result of these successive revolutions the republic, by the Summer of 1915, had reached a stage of exhaustion and

devastation more complete than at any prior period of its existence. It is unnecessary to review the causes of these revolutions; it is sufficient for the present purpose to state the fact. Between the years 1910 and 1915 the foreign relations of the Haitian Government became seriously involved because of the pressure brought to bear by the Governments of France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and the United States to obtain a settlement of the claims of their nationals. Because of the unwillingness or inability of the Haitian people to settle these claims in a satisfactory manner there were armed demonstrations; armed forces of foreign powers had been landed at various points in Haiti on the ground that lives and property of their nationals were in danger.

In 1914 and 1915 there were continuous disturbances, which culminated in the latter year in the murder by armed mobs of ex-President Oreste Zamor and President Sam, the latter having been dragged by a mob from the French Legation, where he had taken refuge, and torn to pieces in the street. Following this, the members of the Cabinet took refuge in foreign legations or escaped from the country, so that there was no executive to assume direction of affairs. It was in this situation that on July 28, 1915, the U. S. S. Washington arrived and it was deemed necessary to land American forces. Within a short time the Legislative Chamber assembled and, under the protection of the United States Marines, elected Sudre Dartiguenave, President of the former Senate, President of the Republic. In connection with the immediate exigency of preserving peace, it appeared essential from a humanitarian standpoint to aid the Haitian people to free themselves from the hopeless conditions which continued revolutions and a policy of despotic militarism had produced. In a large part of the island agriculture had practically been abandoned and in the theatre of the revolutionary disturbances the country was devastated. A treaty was negotiated by our Government with President Dartiguenave shortly after his election to "aid the Haitian people in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis." Provision was made for the appointment by the President of Haiti, upon the nomination of the President of the United States, of a general receiver and the necessary aids for the collection of customs dues, and of a financial adviser, who was to devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, and otherwise make recommendations in relation to economic requirements.

Conditions in Haiti have not yet permitted the withdrawal of American forces, as there is general agreement that such a withdrawal would

be the occasion for revolution and bloodshed. The Government of the United States desires to effect a withdrawal as soon as this can be done consistently with the obligations it has assumed. The Government is endeavoring to improve administration and to aid in establishing the basis for a sound and stable local Government. Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, who was sent to Haiti in the early part of 1922 as American High Commissioner, has steadily sought to bring about improved political and financial conditions, and his endeavors have already met with almost unhopeds-for success. General Russell has worked in the closest co-operation with the local Government. Peace and order have been established and there is safety of lives and property. The great mass of Haitians, who formerly had been completely at the mercy of a rapacious military oligarchy, which had exploited it to such an extent that there was no incentive, but rather a real danger, in producing or in owning anything beyond the merest necessities, are now free to engage in profitable activities. Graft and embezzlement have been eliminated by the customs service and the currency has been stabilized. The public debt has been appreciably reduced. Last October this Government was instrumental in obtaining a loan of \$16,000,000 to Haiti upon favorable terms, and this has permitted the undertaking of numerous constructive works. A claims commission had been set up in Port au Prince, which is disposing of foreign and internal claims for debts.

The practice of financing the Government by private and public loans at ruinous terms has been discontinued and expenses have been kept within the bounds of the revenue of the country. Although the public debt has been decreased, large sums have been expended on constructive public works. Telegraph and telephone systems have been repaired and new construction has been extended to all the principal towns of the interior. Roads have been reconstructed and new construction has been undertaken so far as the financial resources of the country permit. A modern efficient sanitation system has been installed in the seaboard cities and in some of the large interior towns. I cannot attempt to enumerate all the improvements that have been attempted. They are gratifying, but they are not yet adequate and much remains to be done. An American legal adviser in Haiti is now endeavoring to establish a basis for a sound judicial system. Agricultural surveys are being undertaken in order that all practicable assistance may be given for the development of the resources of the island. The Government of the United States is seeking to make its relation to Haiti beneficial to the Haitian people; it has no other aim but to establish peace and stability. It does not seek to acquire

or to control the territory of Haiti and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent Government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

REVOLUTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The disturbed conditions and revolutionary tendencies in some of the Central American republics have given great solicitude to the Government of the United States, and its efforts have been directed to the promotion of tranquillity and stability. This is in the interest of the maintenance of the unimpaired integrity and sovereignty of these republics. The conference of 1907 and the treaties which were then concluded constituted an important forward step, but the objects sought were not attained, and it recently became advisable to call another conference. Accordingly the Government of the United States tendered an invitation to the Governments of the Central American republics, which they accepted, and the conference met in Washington last December. Delegates of our Government participated. The result was the conclusion of a general treaty of peace and amity and a series of conventions, among them being conventions for the establishment of an international Central American tribunal, for the limitation of armaments, for permanent Central American commissions, for extradition, for the preparation of projects of electoral legislation, for the unification of protective laws for workmen and laborers, for the establishment of stations for agricultural experiments and animal industries, and for the reciprocal exchange of Central American students. The treaty of peace and amity contained those provisions of a similar treaty of 1907 which have been found to be of practical value and additional provisions which the conference believed would promote the objects in view.

Reiterating the desire to maintain the institutions and to promote stability, the treaty provides that the Governments of the Central American republics will not recognize any other Government which may come into power in any of the republics through a coup d'état or a revolution against a recognized Government so long as the freely elected representatives of the people have not constitutionally reorganized the country. This treaty and the conventions endeavor not only to assure amity but to build upon this foundation in each of the republics an improved civic structure. In opening the conference it was my privilege to assure the delegates of the helpful spirit of co-operation which they would find in Washington. "The Government of the United States," I said, "has no ambition to gratify at your expense, no policy which runs counter to your national aspirations, and no purpose save to promote the inter-

ests of peace and to assist you, in such manner as you may welcome, to solve your problems to your own proper advantage. The interest of the United States is found in the peace of this hemisphere and in the conservation of your interests."

The difficulties of these republics, and of other countries in a similar condition, are due in no small measure to the lack of the development of their resources and to the absence of needed facilities of intercourse, such as highways and railroads. It is idle to expect stability unless it has a basis in education, in improved methods of agriculture and industry, and in the provision of instrumentalities of communication which give opportunities for reasonable economic satisfactions. Progress in these directions, however, can not be achieved without the investment of capital, and this must be supplied from the outside until sufficient available wealth has been produced within these countries to permit their people to meet their own exigencies. It is not the policy of our Government to make loans to other Governments, and the needed capital, if it is to be supplied at all, must be furnished by private organizations. This has given rise to much misunderstanding and baseless criticism. We have no desire to exploit other peoples; on the other hand, it is surely not the policy of this Government to stand in the way of the improvement of their condition. It is an inescapable fact, however, that private capital is not obtainable unless investment is reasonably secure and returns are commensurate with risks. There are always abundant opportunities for financial enterprise in our own country and in other parts of the world on these terms. We thus have the difficulty that the instability of Governments creates a hazard which private capital refuses to ignore, while that very instability can be cured only by the economic betterment which private capital alone can make possible.

It must also be remembered that the Government of the United States has no power to compel its citizens to lend money or to fix the terms of their investment. Nor is it in a position to control the action of other Governments who desire to borrow. In this situation our Government endeavors by friendly advice to throw its influence against unfairness and imposition, and it has at times, with the consent of the parties—indeed, at their instance—agreed to a measure of supervision in the maintenance of security for loans which otherwise would have been denied or would have been made only at oppressive rates. But any one who supposes that this helpful contact and friendly relation are either sought or used by the Government of the United States for purposes of aggression or with the intention of dominating the affairs of these countries or their Governments has slight knowledge of the

aims and actual endeavors of the Department of State. We are not seeking to extend this relation, but to limit it; we are aiming not to exploit, but to aid; not to subvert, but to help in laying the foundations for sound, stable and independent government. Our interest does not lie in controlling foreign peoples; that would be a policy of mischief and disaster. Our interest is in having prosperous, peaceful, and law-abiding neighbors with whom we can co-operate to mutual advantage.

Fifth—It is apparent that the Monroe Doctrine does not stand in the way of Pan-American co-operation; rather it affords the necessary foundation for that co-operation in the independence and security of American States. The basis of Pan-Americanism is found in the principles of the Farewell Address. There was striking prophecy in the hope expressed by Jefferson that we would recognize "the advantages of a cordial fraternalization among all the American nations" and what he described as "the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy." That system is not hostile to Europe; it simply conserves the opportunity for the cultivation of the interests which are distinctively American.

RESULTS OF PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

With the aim of furthering this Pan-American co-operation there have been five Pan-American conferences, the last of which was recently held in Santiago. The best results of these conferences are not to be found in any formal acts or statements but in the generation of helpful and friendly influences which draw peoples together through a better mutual understanding. There is always a tendency in connection with this co-operation to emphasize plans and purposes of a political nature, and if these are not successfully developed there is a disposition to minimize achievement. The most fruitful work, however, is generally found along less sensational lines where there is real progress in facilitating the interchanges of commerce and culture. Important as are these general Pan-American conferences, I should give large place to the utility of special conferences to meet specific needs. Thus, one of the most promising results of the recent Santiago conference was in the provision for special conferences on the standardization of specifications of raw materials, tools, machinery, supplies, and other merchandise; in order to promote economy in production and distribution; on public health; on eugenics and homoculture; on the codification of international law; on education; on electrical communications; on the uniformity of communications statistics; on automobile highways; and, last but not least, on the dissemination of news.

The essential condition of co-operation is peace,

and this Government is constant in its endeavors to promote peace in this hemisphere by using its good offices, whenever they are welcome, in eliminating the cause of strife, and in making provision for the settlement of disputes that cannot be adjusted by diplomacy. Almost all the boundary disputes in Latin America have been settled, and those that remain are in process of adjustment. Especially gratifying was the enlightened action of the Governments of Chile and Peru in their recent agreement concluded at Washington for the arbitration by the President of the United States of certain questions growing out of the Treaty of Ancon with respect to the territory of Tacna-Arica. Such efforts are not in strictness an application of the Monroe Doctrine, but they are facilitated by its recognition.

Finally, it should be observed that the Monroe Doctrine is not an obstacle to a wider international co-operation, beyond the limits of Pan-American aims and interests, whenever that co-operation is congenial to American institutions. From the foundation of the Government we have sought to promote the peaceful settlement of international controversies. Prior to the first peace conference at The Hague in 1899 the United States had participated in fifty-seven arbitrations. The United States became a party to the two Hague conventions for establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, at the same time safeguarding its historic position by stating, as a part of the ratification, that nothing contained in these conventions should "be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign States" or "be construed to imply relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

It should further be observed that the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice, which might make available the facilities of a permanent tribunal (instead of the less satisfactory provision of temporary tribunals of arbitration) to Governments desiring to submit their controversies to it, has been a distinct feature of the policy of the Government of the United States for many years. We are also interested in measures of conciliation and in the facilities of conference. Our desire to co-operate in maintaining peaceful relations, in removing the misapprehensions and suspicion which are the most fruitful causes of conflict,

in relieving the burdens of injurious and unnecessary competition in armament, in maintaining the declared principles of fair and equal opportunity, is sufficiently attested by the treaties which were concluded at the recent Washington conference. Moreover, aside from that obvious field of international co-operation in which we have postal conventions, rules of navigation, protection of submarine cables, regulation of fisheries, preservation of rights of property, copyrights and trademarks, &c., our people have always and earnestly desired to join in the humanitarian endeavor of the nations for the elimination of common ills, the prevention of the spread of disease, and the restriction or prevention of abuses with which it is impracticable to deal effectively by the separate action of governments. This was shown many years ago when we joined in international conventions for the purpose of putting an end to the African slave trade, and it has had very definite illustration of late in our endeavor to make international action effective in controlling the pernicious distribution of narcotic drugs.

Our attitude is one of independence, not of isolation. Our people are still intent upon abstaining from participation in the political strife of Europe. They are not disposed to commit this Government in advance to the use of its power in unknown contingencies, preferring to reserve freedom of action in the confidence of our ability and readiness to respond to every future call of duty. They have no desire to put their power in pledge, but they do not shirk co-operation with other nations whenever there is a sound basis for it and a consciousness of community of interest and aim. Co-operation is not dictation, and it is not partisanship. On our part it must be the co-operation of a free people drawing their strength from many racial stocks, and a co-operation that is made possible by a preponderant sentiment permitting governmental action under a system which denies all exercise of autocratic power. It will be the co-operation of a people of liberal ideals, deeply concerned with the maintenance of peace and interested in all measures which find support in the common sense of the country as being practicable and well designed to foster common interests.

To such aims the Monroe Doctrine is not opposed, and with the passing of 100 years it remains a cherished policy, inimical to no just interest and deemed to be vitally related to our own safety and to the peaceful progress of the peoples of this hemisphere.

THE NEW BRITISH NAVAL BASE AT SINGAPORE

By J. M. SCAMMELL

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Technical Assistant, Naval War College

Why the United States favors the new defense in the Far East—A safeguard against Japanese aggression—Strategic importance of Singapore

THOSE Americans who object to the building by the British of a great naval base at Singapore in the Straits Settlements, opposite the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, assume a heavy responsibility. Those among our citizens best qualified to pass judgment, for example, our own naval officers, are far from raising any objection. In fact, as nearly as one can judge from their speeches, writings, professional journals and private conversations, they rejoice that the project has been sanctioned by the British Parliament. This generalization includes the Navy Department only to the extent that we may conclude from purely negative information. The department has failed to express any objection, which it is usually prompt to do when it is convinced that our naval interests are adversely affected. Moreover, there was the speech of Rear Admiral W. L. Rodgers, Chairman of the General Board of the Navy, at the Williamstown conference, which practically signified that the board had no adverse criticism to offer.

Why should Americans object? Whether it be through a careful estimate of the politico-strategy involved, or reading between the lines of the debates in the British Parliament, the one fact that stands out is this: The Singapore base is to be built as a defensive measure in support of British policies which are also American policies; in a word, as a measure of precaution against the possible future resumption on the part of Japan of those aggressive policies which led to the calling of the Washington conference. So clearly does this stand out that one might almost suspect an Anglo-American tacit understand-

ing. One is perfectly safe, naturally, in saying that no such agreement exists. Such a course is contrary to our policies, habits and genius. But it is worthy of note that an officer on General Allen's staff in our army of occupation in Germany stated, upon his return to the United States, that, previous to any interallied military conference among the armies of occupation, British and American army officers found it necessary to avoid each other's company because so much alike were American and British mental processes that it gave rise to the suspicion of collusion. Similarly, in the case of the Singapore base, practical identity of interests and policies in the Pacific led, on the one hand, to the British confidence in our approval and, on the other, to recognition by well-informed Americans of the fact that the Singapore base constitutes a potential defensive auxiliary of the United States Navy and a bulwark of American Pacific policies.

The China Sea is the highway of the nations in the Far East. Its waters wash the territories of the Chinese, Japanese, French, Dutch, British, Portuguese, Siamese and Americans, and carry their commerce. On its waters and shores the greatest land and sea powers have their possessions; and there the most important commercial interests and trade routes converge. On the north it is bounded by China and the outposts of Japan. On the west French Indo-China and Siam form its limits. Southward it is bounded by the Dutch East Indies. Northeast lie our Philippine possessions. There are four main gates to this sea. Of these, one leads eastward to the Americas, and to Europe via the Panama Canal; it opens between the

American and the Dutch possessions. A second leads southeast through the Dutch East Indies to the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of New Zealand. A third opens northward; and it is a double gate—one passage lies between the American possessions and the Japanese outpost of Formosa; the other lies between Formosa and the Chinese coast, and it is controlled by the Japanese naval base in the Pescadores Islands. But the most important door of all is that which unites Europe with the Far East—the Strait of Malacca. It is controlled by Singapore.

AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITIES

The United States, with Guam adequately protected and developed, and with her admirable potential bases in the Philippines made into actualities, had it in her power to close the approaches from the eastward. This opportunity to exercise economic pressure, and even the ability to protect her own, or to bring her military

and naval forces into this area to defend her liberal policies, the United States surrendered to end competitive naval building and to create an era of good feeling in the Pacific. Regardless of the disputed point—whether or not we attained either of our objects—the fact remains that Japan was left in potential control of the China Sea. Hector C. Bywater, a distinguished British naval authority, recently stated:

A British Admiral with whom I was discussing, some two years ago, the strategic situation in the Pacific, made the following pungent comment:

"If America ever has to fight Japan before she has got proper fleet bases across the Pacific, the individual least to be envied in the whole world would be the American Commander-in-Chief. He would have no means of forcing a decision, since the initiative would rest entirely with the enemy, yet he would command a fleet sufficiently powerful to justify a public clamor for something to be done with it. And if he yielded to this clamor and engaged in any active operation, the odds against it succeeding would be 99 to 1. Villeneuve on the eve of Trafalgar had an easy problem compared with this. If I were an American naval officer, nothing less than the insistent call of duty would persuade me to command the fleet in a war with Japan, not only on account of the appalling responsibility, but because it would be practically impossible to make any active move that was not foredoomed to failure."

Subsequently the United States agreed not to establish the required naval bases!

Referring to the non-fortification clause of the Washington Treaties Viscount Curzon recently stated in Parliament:

To the United States it renders the Philippines and the midpacific islands absolutely useless, and unless the United States is able to place supplies of fuel in those places the American fleet cannot possibly cross the Pacific.

The military result was that Japan's potential power was exercised over 2,000 miles to the southward. This brought her into direct contact with the



Map showing the position of Singapore in relation to China, Japan, the Philippine Islands, the Dutch East Indies and Australia

Dutch and half way to Australia. No longer was there the menace of Manila on the flank.

Japan is an island empire, semi-industrialized and dependent, as is Great Britain, upon her imports for food and raw materials, and upon her exports for her wealth. In an endeavor to control the sources of her raw materials and to care for her expanding population, Japan embarked upon ventures northward, to Sakhalin, westward into Korea, Manchuria, Siberia and Shantung; southward into the islands of the Pacific; and eastward, by peaceful penetration, to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast. Of all these ventures, none was successful; but that eastward alone held promise. Sakhalin, Siberia and Manchuria were too cold for the Japanese settlers. In Manchuria and Korea and Shantung they could not compete with the natives who had lower standards of living. The Pacific islands proved to be too warm, and the official report to the League of Nations shows an actual decrease in the number of Japanese in the last year. This is attributed by the Japanese Government to the withdrawal of naval personnel; but it does not explain the failure of colonists to settle there despite the inducements offered. In short, the Japanese can thrive only in very favorable climates. They are not and never have been pioneers. They refuse to clear and settle new and available areas in their own islands. Hokkaido is actually thinly populated. But the Japanese could thrive in Hawaii, California, Mexico or South America, except that American policy bars the way; or in Australia and New Zealand, except that the English-speaking people there forbid it. Again, Japan in her determination to become a great military and naval power, came to depend largely on resources available only from abroad. Cotton, for example, is not only the common material for clothing, but it is a vital necessity for the manufacture of explosives. Oil is necessary for submarines, aircraft and battleships. Japan has none. But there are extensive fields in the Dutch possessions.

Japanese needs, and therefore Japanese policy, became a menace to the Dutch and to the British dominions in the Pacific. Australia's policy is "A White Man's

Country." Japanese naval officers have been too outspoken about the east with which thinly settled, strategically weak and dangerously isolated Australia could be occupied. In American, Dutch and British waters they have been altogether naïve and clumsy in their methods of surveying and gaining military information. Then there was our failure to fortify Manila and Guam, followed by our pledge not to do so. This gave Japan the only base on the China Sea—in the Pescadores—and brought her military power to the shores of the Dutch possessions, and, potentially, 2,000 miles nearer Australia. The consequence was that the Dutch, who had in the past relied somewhat nebulously upon the vague expectation of American policy as a defense, immediately took alarm. A Royal resolution of Nov. 21, 1922, established a Royal commission to look into the matter. It reported, on April 7, 1923, that it considered the proposed naval base at Tanjong Priok to be "indispensable," saying that "violation of the neutrality of the Dutch East Indian possessions would provide the enemy of the offending power with a valuable base." Hence the projects of Tanjong Priok, the auxiliary bases at Surabaya and Rhio, the latter opposite Singapore, and a building program of naval craft designed specially for tropical service. The ships were to cost about \$80,000,000 and the bases about \$40,000,000. Then came the British project. The British naturally disclaimed any intention to build it against Japan. With a blind disregard of common sense the opposition proclaimed: "But a base must be built for a possible use against some one. Are we not on friendly terms with the Japanese?" But it was forgotten that after a nation becomes an enemy it is too late to build a base or a fleet or to organize an army. The only sensible time to prepare is when preparation is general and can give acute offense to no one. The fact is, as Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons:

The Washington conference brought us down to a narrowly limited, one-power standard. If so, we must be able to apply that one-power standard wherever our interests are threatened, and that means that our fleet must be mobile.

If this analysis is not correct, how are

we to explain the similar apprehensions and preparations of the Dutch? How are we to explain the remark made in the House of Commons by Commander Bellairs, to the effect that the Singapore base might be useful in the future to the United States for the defense of the Philippines? Let us recall that Sir Ian Hamilton predicted in his latest book that in the event of the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance the next war would be in the Pacific with Great Britain and the United States on one side and Germany, Russia and Japan on the other. But even better than all this, let us recall the debate in the House of Commons on July 19, 1923. Commander Bellairs said of Japan:

In ten years' time there will be an increase of 8,000,000 in that population. That will be 8,000,000 more reasons for expansion, and the Japanese will not expand into cold climates; they go only to warm climates.

Lieut. Commander Kenworthy, who spoke against the project, said:

I admit that in a generation, perhaps, the increase in population in Japan and the urge to fill the great spaces in Australia may lead to great trouble between the two empires—then Singapore is the most important strategical point in the world.

Mr. Amery stated that:

Whoever holds the gateway makes it impossible for any one to come into the Indian Ocean for aggressive purposes or to conduct an attack upon Australia and New Zealand.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke observed that:

There are fifty commercial lines of ocean-going steamers that pass Singapore and very often call there. * * * Singapore flanks the lines of approach to Australia and New Zealand. * * * We shall be able to give the greatest assistance to our friends in Australia and New Zealand. They will know that there is safety for them. It is a very long way from Australia and New Zealand to Malta. It will give confidence to our friends in Australia and New Zealand, who fought so well for us in the war.

Then note this from the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* of May 5, 1923: "We take it that the plan has been laid out through the fear that Japan has territorial ambitions in India and Australia." Captain Masanori Ito, a retired officer of the Japanese Navy, is quoted in *The New York Times* of Aug. 19 as having stated

in the *Zaisei-Keizai-Jiho*, referring to Great Britain:

It is thus natural that she is full of anxiety as to Australia and New Zealand and is casting suspicious eyes toward Japan. * * * If there is even the slightest connection between the Singapore base and the naval agreement that exists between Great Britain and the United States, then the situation is serious.

Captain Hay, speaking in Parliament against the project, said:

There are only two potential enemies against whom you need to fortify Singapore. One is America, the other is Japan. No matter how dull and gross many of the people of this country may be, I believe there is one thing they will not stand, and that is war with America. The ties of blood and of relationship are too close between the people here and the people across the ocean for us to look forward to such a contingency. Therefore, we are counting upon a war with Japan. A war with Japan is going to be something greater than the war between ourselves and Germany, or the war between Germany and France. It is going to be a race war.

This is reminiscent of the remark by Lord Grey of Fallodon in the House of Lords on July 11 that if there were a war in the Pacific "it was as certain as anything could be that it would be a race conflict in which the United States, as well as the British Empire, would be involved on the same side."

A DEFENSIVE POLICY

The policy which the British Empire has in mind is, in short, also our policy: That our territories, or territories adjacent to our frontiers from which the integrity of our dominions may be menaced, are not open to conquest or colonization by any great power. It is a defensive policy. Members of Parliament had this clearly in mind. Mr. Amery said:

Pearl Harbor is just over 3,000 miles from Yokohama, and that distance is sufficient protection to Japan against any aggression on the part of the United States. Singapore is just 3,000 miles away from Japan, and if we had any aggressive idea against Japan, we should never have agreed to a scheme which deprived us of the effective use of Hongkong.

Singapore does not lend itself readily to aggression any more than Tanjong Priok or Pearl Harbor does. As Commander Bellairs put it:

I think it is a fact also, that in the event of Japan returning to an aggressive policy, such as she had against China during the war, the war staffs of both Great Britain and America will assure their Governments that their Governments must combine if they are to exercise successful coercion on Japan.

Another aspect to be taken into consideration is the spirit which animates a people. The British Empire and the United States are not aggressive; they desire only to keep in peace what they now possess. The naval base at Singapore is not intended for aggression, but to defend British possessions and policies in the Pacific, and these policies are also our policies. While the Japanese base in the Pescadores flanks the China trade routes of Great Britain, menaces Hongkong, Australia and the Dutch East India possessions, Singapore is 3,000 miles from Japan and an offensive movement against that country would have to count on passing or reducing the Pescadores. An offensive move would be a hopeless undertaking. But Singapore has a powerful defensive value. It flanks the line of advance to Australia and covers India. It prevents the Japanese tankers in time of

war from getting oil from the Dutch. Past its doors flows the bulk of the Japanese commerce.

Not only will the Singapore base have a decided defensive value, but it also re-establishes the naval equality in the Pacific of the English-speaking peoples; an equality which we Americans renounced when we gave up our right to defend the Philippines and Guam. Singapore means that the China Sea shall remain open to the commerce of the world. The ability to maintain the Open Door in China, which we have renounced, will be maintained by another power. Had the United States developed a suitable naval base at Manila and provided properly for the defense of the Philippines, I seriously doubt if the British Navy would ever have tried to get—much less succeed in getting—funds for the Singapore base, so closely are British-American Pacific interests identified. United States naval officers, being students of policy, certainly give no evidence of alarm, but much evidence of satisfaction with the building of the British base in the Pacific.



KATO'S WORK FOR A PEACEFUL JAPAN

By MARGARET DE FOREST HICKS

*Premier who began his career as narrow-minded nationalist and militarist, but who reversed his country's policies of aggression
—Reputation made at the Washington Disarmament Conference*

JAPAN has lost in the recent death of Admiral Baron Kato a statesman whom it does not seem too rash to acclaim, not only the greatest Premier that Japan has ever had, but a leader as progressive and as astute as any contemporary in any foreign capital. Born in the Province of Hiroshima on the Inland Sea, on Feb. 22, 1859, Tomasaburo Kato was at an early age attracted to the sea. In 1884 his youthful ambitions were realized when he became an Ensign in the Imperial Japanese Navy. There his career was as creditable and as successful as was in later years his political record. By 1899 he had attained the rank of Captain. Serving first as a professor at the Naval Academy, next as Chief of the Bureau of Naval Affairs in the Government, during the Russo-Japanese War, he distinguished himself as commander of the Kamimura Squadron.

Kato received his first Cabinet appointment in 1906 as Vice Minister of Marine, and in 1909, shortly after his promotion to the rank of Vice Admiral, he was put in command of Kure, one of Japan's most important naval bases. At the outbreak of the World War, he took a leading part in the fleet activities against Tsingtao, and the following year, assumed the portfolio of Minister of Marine in the Okuma Cabinet, continuing in this capacity until 1921, though during this period no less than three Ministries were formed. Until 1915, Kato had little opportunity to show that he possessed statesmanlike qualities, but, it soon became evident at the Conference for Limitation of Armament at Washington in the Fall of 1921, that he was the outstanding figure of the Japanese delegation. The Conference made Kato.

It gave him an international reputation which he never could have won without the opportunity for distinction which the Conference offered. To him fell the chance to choose for his country between narrow imperialism and broad-minded international co-operation, before the eyes of an apathetic world. He made the choice with a lack of hesitancy, that will forever mark him as great. Kato came to the Conference narrowly nationalistic, stubbornly militaristic, the author of the greatest naval-building program that Japan had ever launched; he left it, with his nationalism broadened, his militarism abandoned, his 8-8 program willingly scrapped.

In daily intercourse with the representatives of other nations, Kato was quick to perceive that world opinion unanimously condemned his country's policies on the Asiatic mainland. But with a discernment possessed by few, he saw that this international objection was directed toward the methods employed rather than the ends sought; and upon this fact he built a new foreign policy which will mark a distinct epoch in Japanese history. In the early days of the Conference, he began with characteristic determination to put this new policy into practice. He acquiesced here, yielded there, with a blandness that positively frightened his colleagues. But Kato had caught a new vision, had sought and found a new method for the pursuit of his country's policies in that vast storehouse of raw materials to the west, and to it he held. Furthermore, he knew that both wisdom and expediency supported his views. Without these weapons he could never have succeeded in justifying his actions in the eyes of the conservative and the military

elements at home. Favored, however, by the Japanese liberals and by Japanese "Big Business," he worked assiduously for full acceptance of the Washington Conference program. Great must have been his satisfaction when in June, 1922, he was asked to head a non-party Cabinet pledged to the principles of the conference and the fulfillment of its agreements.

During the fifteen months' régime under Kato's leadership great things were accomplished. Although during his tenure of office as Minister of Marine the naval budget increased from 84,000,000 yen (about \$42,000,000) to nearly 500,000,000 yen (about \$250,000,000), he set energetically to work to curtail Japan's naval and military strength. The results speak eloquently of his success. The total military and naval budget for 1923-24 is 480,000,000 yen (or 282,000,000 yen less than the amount appropriated for 1921-22); the army has discharged 1,000 officers and 50,000 men; the personnel of the navy has been reduced 13,000; the original naval-building program for cruisers, destroyers, and submarines has been slightly decreased; and on capital ships all construction work has been stopped. Toward her neighbors across the Japan and Yellow Seas, a complete change in Japanese policy has taken place. Of primary importance has been the withdrawal of Japanese troops from all points in Manchuria north of the South Manchurian Railroad zone; from Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze River, and from the entire Province of Shantung. The last act of his Ministry, only a few minutes' before Kato's death, was an effort on China's behalf to secure favorable modifications to demands being made of the Peking Government by the Great Powers. This indeed presents a striking contrast to the Japan that refused to relinquish Shantung or that formulated the "Twenty-one Demands."

My last recollection of Kato was in the Winter of 1922. I remember still the slight, dignified figure, the finely modeled head with its close-cropped hair, its arched brows, its long, delicate nose, its sensitive mouth, its kindly but inscrutable eyes. I recall Kato's quiet bearing and his manner of speech, usually brusque, without any



Keystone

ADMIRAL COUNT GOMBEI YAMAMOTO
Premier of Japan in succession to Baron
Kato

hint of discourtesy, and unfailingly laconic. Though now he is dead, his influence will be felt, his foresight will be proved, his fearless dedication of purpose to Japan's best interests as he saw them will serve, both as a benefit and an inspiration, for decades to come. A high tribute was recently paid him by the head of the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference, with whom he worked in closest co-operation. Prince Tokogawa said of Kato the day after his death: "He was a rare type who could plan for war, but preferred to plan for peace. Only a big man could do that."

Kato was born in a province which borders on the Inland Sea, facing toward the country which later he was to serve indirectly as one of its sincerest friends. His outlook during those early days was narrow and confined, but later years proved his thoughts to be as deep, his vision as broad, as the ocean which laps his country's further shores.

AUTOCRACY IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

By ERIC D. WALROND

Formerly associate editor of The Negro World and now a frequent contributor on race questions to leading magazines in America and Europe

The native agitation for democratic self-government—Territory under the administration of the United States Navy Department—Effect of prohibition on the prosperity of the islands

UNDER "an act to provide a temporary Government" the United States on March 31, 1917, for the sum of \$25,000,000 acquired the three Danish West Indian isles of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John, subsequently rechristened "the Virgin Islands of the United States." From a strategic point of view the Virgin Islands are necessary to the safety and protection of the Panama Canal and also to American interests in the Antilles. Shortly after the transfer the Administration fell into the hands of the Navy Department, exactly as in Haiti and Santo Domingo. With 93 per cent. of its 27,086 inhabitants classed as negroid, an aggravating racial situation developed. Formerly the Danes thought nothing of fraternizing socially and ethnologically with the natives, who are largely descendants of Caribs, Arrowauks and African slaves. In fact, under Danish rule they enjoyed every kind of equality. Some of the best negro teachers, merchants, journalists and tradesmen were educated in Denmark. Unfortunately, to the emissaries of the United States Navy this smacked of miscegenation, which, it was held, ought to be abolished. The Virgin Islands being now an American possession, American laws and customs should prevail. As a result there have been riots and racial clashes. Other acts of a grossly tyrannical nature helped to bring to the attention of the outside world what is now known as the Virgin Islands problem.

In St. Croix, birthplace of Alexander Hamilton and scene of several bloody "buckra" slave uprisings, is the head-

quarters of the St. Croix Labor Union, a negro organization headed by D. Hamilton Jackson, a negro lawyer and editor, educated in Europe and America. Organized in 1914, three years before the transfer, the St. Croix Labor Union is, from one point of view, a Caribbean attempt to copy, on a relatively lower scale, the Communist experiment now taking place in Russia; from another standpoint it is really an effort to teach the natives the value of co-operative Government. With a bank, a newspaper, a warehouse, and eight of the sugar estates on which its members formerly worked (nearly every workingman belongs to the union) in its possession, it would be most unwise to think of destroying an organization so firmly entrenched in the minds of the people. Its success lies chiefly in the dynamic personality of its leader. Without employing any of the oratorical pyrotechnics one expects to find in the average negro leader, Jackson is a shrewd, honest, level-headed mystic, more of the dreaming poet type than the fiery apostle of polemics he is so often pictured.

Jackson a year ago wrote an editorial in the St. Croix Herald, organ of the labor union, in which he mildly criticized the Road Commissioner of Christiansted. For this he was brought before a Magistrate, charged with "contempt" and sentenced to serve six days in prison. Appealing to the Supreme Court of the Virgin Islands, which is located in Philadelphia, Jackson spent a large amount of money endeavoring to have the sentence reversed, but all to no avail. Early this year Jackson,

while serving sentence, was elected by the people to represent them on the Colonial Council, or island Legislature, defeating by an overwhelming majority the Government candidate.

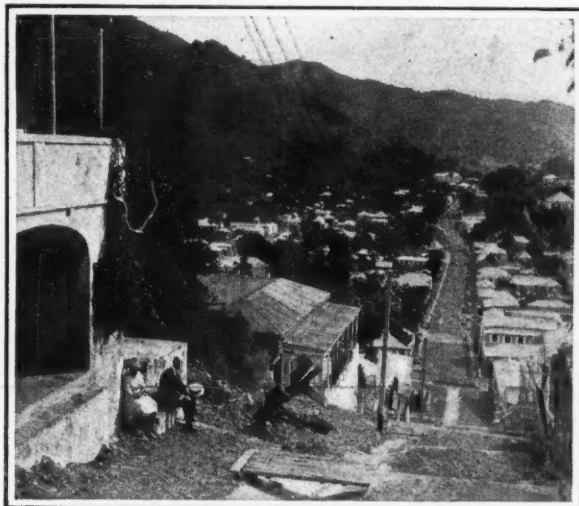
One of Jackson's most loyal associates is the Rev. R. G. Barrow, a Barbadian minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Last year the Rev. Barrow, who, like that other Barbadian of Danish West Indian fame, Buddhoe, is an uncompromising lover of freedom and righteousness, made a speech to the members of the labor union in which he counseled them to stand together and fight their battles like men. For this he was arrested as an "undesirable alien" and forthwith deported. Very significantly, Mr. Barrow's deportation took place just when Jackson was on a visit to the United States.

The suppression of free speech and the muzzling of the native press are not the only thorns in the side of the natives. Before the transfer from Danish to United States sovereignty the manufacture of sugar and rum was the chief industry of the islands. Hundreds of dock laborers, coal carriers, blacksmiths, coopers and caulkers today are out of work because of the economic strangulation caused by prohibition. Tourists from Europe and America pass by the Virgin Islands and go to the nearby British isle of Tortola, which poor in former days, is now prosperous and self-sufficient. All this is on account of the enactment of prohibition in the Virgin Islands.

The franchise is another cause of discontent. Of the 14,901 persons in St. Croix only 193 can vote; and of the 8,000 to 10,000 in St. Thomas, only 231. This is because the old Danish law, which based the franchise on property exclusively, is still kept in force by the democratic American Government. Here in the United States the Virgin Islanders, who number about 20,000, according to a recent ruling of the State Department, cannot vote because they are not citizens and cannot become citizens because they are not aliens.

To determine their status politically and to alleviate generally the conditions of their brethren "at home," Virgin Islanders on this side of the water have formed a Virgin Islands Congressional Council, of which Mr. Casper Holstein, a Harlem negro merchant, is President. At a mass meeting held in New York City in June, 1922, it adopted a resolution, which was broadcast all over the country, asking for the abolition of government by the Navy Department. The people of the islands claim that the organic act under which the Government of an American dependency is in the hands of one of the military departments was confessedly a temporary device and in the opinion of an overwhelming majority of the natives it is high time that Congress set up a civil administration for the islands such as Porto Rico has. Besides being liable to abuse, administration by military or naval officers is, they claim, contrary to the traditions of all civilized nations as well as to the historic precedents of the United States.

One of the demands which is being urged by the Virgin Islands Congressional Council is the appointment of a resident Commissioner at Washington. It is pointed out that, whether administered by the Navy Department or by a civil Government, the islands are in the position of a



Keystone

A view of Charlotte Amalie, the chief town of the Virgin Islands



Keystone

Women who work as coal carriers loading steamers at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

Territory without a voice in Congress. As long as the territorial status lasts, if the Virgin Islanders had a resident Commissioner at Washington, such as the Filipinos have, their wants and needs could be effectively placed before Congress from time to time. Attention is also drawn to the fact that the Filipinos have an elaborate system of self-government, while the Virgin Islanders have not. The argument, therefore, that justifies the existence of a resident Commissioner at Washington for the Philippines applies with double force to one for the Virgin Islands.

Not the least of the evils against which the Virgin Islands Congressional Council is protesting is the dual and even triple functions exercised by the same officers.

Grave objection is taken to the combination in one person of judicial and administrative functions. At present the Naval Governor exercises, not only executive and judicial but also legislative functions. At one time Mr. Washington Williams of Baltimore acted for the Government as attorney, magistrate, police chief, and member of the Board of Parole and Pardons. Again, the Governor has the power of appointing members of the Colonial Council. This, it is pointed out, savors of the British practice in the Crown Colonies, which are administered on a theory of political dependence. Furthermore, the Virgin Islanders argue that Government employment, as far as possible, should be utilized to satisfy the

aspirations of the natives.

Finally, the Virgin Islands Congressional Council is asking the United States Government to send a commission to the islands "made up, not of Congressmen, but of men who could give to the task of gathering facts the full time that may be necessary.

"Such a commission should be empowered to make an adequate study of conditions administrative, economic and political and to formulate a report with recommendations as a basis for Congressional action. This commission to act fairly, impartially, independently, and free from the influence of local monopolists and capitalists."



FRANCISCO VILLA, OUTLAW AND REBEL CHIEF

By JOSE M. PONCE DE LEON

Member of the Mexican Geographical Association, of the American Historical Association and of the American Statistical Association; author of several works relating to the history of Chihuahua, Mexico

Sensational career of Mexico's most typical bandit and guerrilla chief—Murder and cattle thieving a prelude to participation in revolts against the Mexican Government—The record of his exploits and cruelties—Life of violence terminated by a few of his hundreds of enemies

NO single complete account has ever been published of the life and doings of the celebrated Francisco Villa, the Mexican bandit, whose recent assassination made a sensation both in Mexico and the United States. The facts given in this article have all been verified by the Mexican press of the last decade, on file at the National Public Library of Mexico City, and their accuracy is attested to by thousands of residents of Chihuahua City and many other places in Mexico.

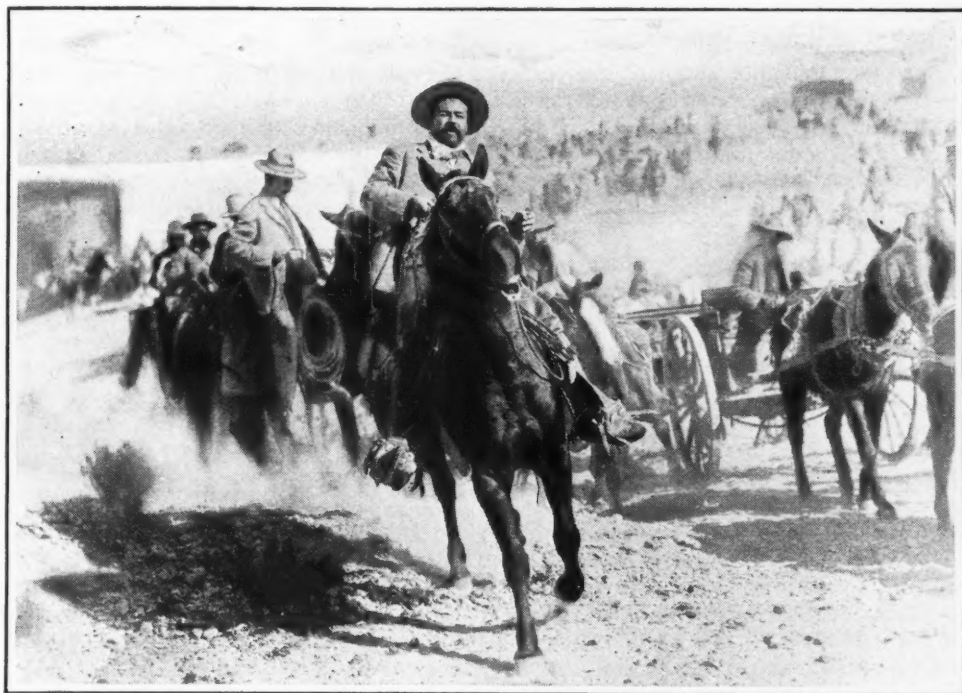
Francisco Villa was born in the small hamlet of Rio Grande, San Juan del Rio County, State of Durango, on Oct. 4, 1877. His people belonged to the peon or small ranch class of Mexicans. He received no education. When he was 18, or, according to another version, 20 years old, he committed a murder in circumstances not yet determined, although in 1911, when he was already a public figure and a Colonel, he insisted that the killing was done in order to save his honor. To escape punishment for this crime he fled to Durango City, in whose vicinity he launched upon his sensational career as a professional outlaw.

The established facts regarding Villa's life from 1897 to 1909 are as follows: He devoted his activities to cattle robbing in Durango and in Southern Chihuahua, in the vicinity of Parral, Satevó, Balleza and Zaragoza, in association with the most notorious cattle thieves of that epoch. The outlaws stole cattle and horses from one section and carried them to another hundreds of miles distant, selling them to people who

made a business of dealing in stolen cattle. In the court records of Chihuahua and Durango there are scores of charges against Villa and his associates for that cause. Villa himself was never caught. He owed his ability to escape capture to his intimate knowledge of every secluded spot and trail in the mountains and plains of Chihuahua, Durango and Northern Sinaloa—a knowledge that subsequently helped him greatly when at the head of armed forces he fought first against the Federal army and afterward against the Carranzista troops.

In 1909, at the head of a small gang of bandits, Villa assaulted the Talamantes hacienda, near Allende, in the Jiménez district, killing two or three of the defenders of the hacienda and robbing them afterward. This was his first big exploit, and for the first time his name was printed in the Chihuahua newspapers. This publicity drew the attention of the authorities, who made an attempt to capture him, but the rurales sent to pursue him returned empty-handed. Villa later made a similar raid upon another hacienda in Southern Chihuahua. The Chihuahua Government was enraged by this attack and more rurales were sent to catch him, but he always eluded the police forces and his whereabouts remained unknown.

Next year, in 1910, the Madero uprising was organized in Chihuahua by Abraham Gonzalez. Villa, knowing that the Maderistas, or no re-election partisans, were about to wage war against the authorities, saw a good opportunity to find refuge



Francisco Villa, the Mexican bandit, riding at the head of some of his followers

among the insurgents. He offered his services to Gonzalez, who, knowing that Villa was feared by the authorities, accepted his offers, aiming to use him, for his ferocity, as a weapon against the faction's enemies and as an agency for recruiting certain classes of outlaws ready to fight the Government to save themselves from the hands of the law. Thus Villa started his career as a political figure.

The first fight of Villa as rebel chieftain was in San Andres, near Chihuahua City, where he surprised 150 Federal soldiers going to Guerrero in a military train. After some shots the Federals continued their journey to Guerrero. During the remainder of the Maderista campaign Villa never had at his command more than 300 or 400 men, according to the testimony of General José de la Luz Blanco, now a resident of Santo Tomas, near Guerrero, and of General Marcelo Caraveo, now chief of operations in Toluca, and scores of other personal witnesses. During the Juarez battle Villa participated with his command in the fighting, although Blanco and Orozco acted as supreme chiefs. After the town

was taken Villa with his own hand shot down and killed Santiago Mestas, a rich merchant, in order to seize possession of the latter's wealth.

When the Maderista soldiers were disbanded each man received 50 pesos in Chihuahua City. Villa got the upper hand in the matter and received money enough for twice the number of his men. President Madero also gave him 25,000 pesos to induce him to devote himself to honest work. Villa became a butcher, renting a number of butcher shops and selling meat to the people. Scores of claims were daily put before Governor Abraham Gonzalez from people who were being robbed of cattle by Villa's followers. This stolen stock was slaughtered by Villa and sold as legitimate property in his rented shops.

When Orozco revolted (March, 1912) there were so many complaints that, although Gonzalez wished to help Villa, he saw no way to prevent his punishment by law. Villa, who was Orozco's personal enemy, was not accepted in the revolt, and for this reason was forced to take flight

from Chihuahua to Parral, where he posed as a loyal Maderista chief. In Parral he obliged the merchants and rich property owners to give him some 200,000 pesos, alleging that he needed them to pay his troops, who at that time numbered only 300 men. When Huerta sent him to Mexico City from Jiménez in June, 1913, he was charged with having stolen the said amount, and the Federal Judge began action against him by order of Madero himself.

Fleeing from the penitentiary, he went to El Paso, Texas, and from that place, in March, 1913, he crossed the Bravo River to fight his personal enemy Huerta, who had killed Madero. Good fortune and the cowardice and incompetence of the Federal chiefs operating in Chihuahua availed him so much that in a few months he was able to muster hundreds of men dissatisfied with the Huerta régime. Within a comparatively short time he controlled the State of Chihuahua. The Federal commanders, seeing that Huerta was unable to send them ammunition, reinforcements and money to pay the soldiers, were forced to evacuate Chihuahua City.

During his 1913 campaign Villa, while in San Andres, ordered the massacre of more than 120 prisoners taken after the defeat of the Federals there; and the same thing happened when he captured Casas Grandes in June of the same year.

In 1914 and 1915 Chihuahua was under his absolute control. Among hundreds of people shot here by his orders the more prominent were Attorney Aureliano Gonzalez, who had acted in 1912 as Governor of the State, and who had been Villa's friend; Felipe Gutierrez, who had acted as Governor during the Orozco régime, and who had surrendered to Villa, believing that he would be granted immunity; Attorney José A. Yañez, Rafael Rembao, Engineer Jacobo Mucharraz; Villa's former friend Andana; Donaciano Mapula, and many other prominent people, not only from Chihuahua, but also from Durango and other places. Most of these victims were forced to pay over large sums of money, and were then shot.

After suffering defeats at Celaya and Leon at the hands of General Obregon, now President of Mexico, Villa was forced

back to Chihuahua. He destroyed the railroad from Zacatecas to Torreon, and then, believing that he could whip the Carranzista troops guarding Sonora, he went to that State, only to meet with a crushing defeat, which virtually annihilated his "army." He returned to Chihuahua, and, convinced that his star was declining, authorized the remnant of his partisans to desert him. Later (March, 1916) he rallied 150 trusted men and made the famous raid on Columbus. The Carranzista commanders were unable to stop him on his way north. When the Pershing expedition came in his pursuit he declined battle and retreated south. In this year, near Guerrero, he was hit by a stray bullet in a battle with General Cavazos, and was obliged to hide in a cave, barely escaping discovery by the American cavalry who were pursuing him, and who passed only a score of yards from his hiding place.

In the last months of 1916, through his intimate knowledge of the ground, he was able to inflict another defeat upon the Carranzista commanders and to regain control of Chihuahua, forcing General Jacinto Treviño to give up the capital of the State. At this juncture there arrived from Torreon the famous General Francisco Murguia, who attacked Villa and was able to defeat him within a few months, but when his annihilation was near Murguia abandoned the campaign in order to devote himself to personal business.

VILLA'S CRUELITIES

In 1917 and 1918 occurred many of the most terrible episodes of Villa's cruelty. In Jiménez, with his own hands, he shot the wife and daughters of Colonel Miguel Gonzalez, solely on the ground of an unconfirmed rumor that they were planning to poison him. He also ordered that an old lady, Mrs. C. Chavez Caballero, be burned alive. In Balleza, similarly, the sister of Attorney Socorro Garcia was burned alive, and the widow and daughter of José Rodriguez, who had been one of Villa's trusted chiefs until his death in 1916, met with a similar fate by Villa's orders.

In Santa Rosalia a military train was caught. The wife of a soldier fired a shot at him. In retaliation he had the wives of

thirty-five soldiers put to death immediately. Many of them were thrown alive into a well. To this terrible deed all the inhabitants of Santa Rosalia can testify as witnesses.

In 1919 Villa was reduced to retreat and evasion to avoid capture by the Carranzista commanders, but when General Angeles came from the United States it seemed that the rebel chief would recover his power. His hopes of this, however, were shattered with his defeat at Juarez, and, after making sure that no help could be secured from the United States, he returned to Southern Chihuahua with a mere handful of men.

In this situation, and when his days seemed counted, there came the revolt against the Carranzista régime in 1920. Villa seized the opportunity and started negotiations with Acting President Adolfo de la Huerta and made a spectacular surrender to the new Government. He had only about eighty men, but in order to appear powerful he sent orders to all his friends and companions dispersed in Chihuahua, Durango and Coahuila to go at once to Tlahualilo. In this way he "surrendered" some hundreds of soldiers.

The Government bought the Canutillo

estate at Parral and gave it to him and his men. Apparently he was devoted to farming, but it is a fact that in this semi-feudal empire only his will ruled, and in Parral everybody feared him and was obliged to obey his commands.

Villa has been called a friend of the poor people and a democrat. After a victory or on other occasions he liked to distribute personally a handful of money among poor women and destitute people. Sometimes, during his bandit career, he allowed the people to loot a score of stores. Outside of this, however, his humanitarianism and democracy were nonexistent. His intellect was too low to understand high conceptions, and his ignorance too great to understand social and economic problems and to secure their solution. His ambition centred in amassing riches and in the hope of becoming the omnipotent and autocratic ruler over the territories of Chihuahua, Durango and the Torreon zone.

As he had hundreds of deadly enemies, relatives and friends of thousands of victims, it is no wonder that at last some of his foes organized the plot that ended his life. All thinking people wonder why this did not happen before.



PANAMA'S DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

By C. GRAND PIERRE

Author of "A Handbook of West Coast Countries, Panama and the Canal" and other works on Latin America

Efforts of the Isthmian Republic to prevent the United States from destroying its freedom—Panama's contention that the Canal Zone has only been leased—Rights under treaty ignored by American authorities

THE Buna Varilla-Hay Treaty of Nov. 18, 1903, between the United States and the Republic of Panama, quite as much as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, has been the object of many contradictory interpretations and differences of opinion between the high contracting parties. Although negotiated and concluded for the purpose of solving problems of a temporary nature, it was given the character of a permanent instrument. It was concluded hastily, only fourteen days after Panama declared her independence. The plenipotentiaries representing Panama, anxious for the newly acquired independence of their country, willing to pay any price for it, agreed to everything that was asked of them, even to terms which may be stretched to mean that the United States, legally a mere lessee of the Canal Zone, may, without any form of procedure, assume the right to take over the property of the lessor.

Almost from the first day that the United States occupied the Isthmus early in 1904 grave differences of opinion concerning the import of the treaty manifested themselves very strongly and the climax came in June of that year, when the Governor of the Canal Zone issued an executive order declaring that territory open to the commerce of the world and the Dingley tariff in force there, as well as establishing Custom Houses and Post Offices. Panamá at once protested in the most energetic manner that the Canal Zone, being merely leased territory, could not be considered as a political entity capable of entertaining international re-

lations of any kind, that the lease had been granted for the sole purpose of building and operating a canal, and that the governmental functions of the United States should be limited to what was strictly necessary to carry out that definite purpose and no other. President Roosevelt, acceding, at least in part, to Panama's contention, declared that the United States had not the slightest intention of establishing an American dependency on the Canal Zone. He rescinded the Governor's executive order to which Panama objected, and he sent Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, to the Isthmus to settle the differences between the two countries.

The Taft Agreement of 1904, which brought about a compromise, transgresses the formal Canal Treaty in various ways, but it stipulates that neither side shall take the other to task for doing so in specific cases. Its terms were included in the Panama Canal act and thereby became a law of the United States. After the completion of the canal, however, several of its terms became obsolete, and in September, 1922, President Harding obtained permission from Congress to abrogate the Panama Canal act so that a new treaty might be negotiated.

For over two years informal conversations have from time to time taken place in an effort to find bases mutually acceptable upon which formal negotiations for a new treaty might be based. Nothing has been said in Washington to indicate what the American demands upon Panama might be, but persons very close to the Panama Government have never been very

reticent in regard to what Panama would claim. As citizens of Panama see things, the problems to be solved are twofold: (1) the bridging over of fundamental differences of opinion concerning the very purpose and extent of the treaty, and (2) the prevention, in the future, of a continuance of alleged misinterpretations of the treaty by the civil and military authorities of the Canal Zone. Panama's fundamental contention is that the United States has never acquired the Canal Zone in fee simple, either by "purchase, cession or conquest," that the Zone is still an integral part of the territory of the Republic of Panama; that rights on the Isthmus were given to the United States for the sole and exclusive purpose of building, operating and, if necessary, protecting the canal; that nothing that departs or is not intimately connected with that object has ever been contemplated or granted in the treaty of 1903 and therefore cannot be exacted of Panama. Hence, it is held, the rights of the United States to govern the Canal Zone "as if it were its own" are not any more extensive than those of a lessee. Moreover, the lease having been granted by Panama under definite conditions, that country claims to be legally entitled to cancel the lease for any non-fulfillment of its terms, or if for any reason the United States should cease to operate the canal.

Panama, it thus appears, takes up a position based exclusively upon formal international law and treaty terms and does not take into account either the Monroe Doctrine and its applications or the exceptional position of the United States in the Western Hemisphere.

In the course of the informal conversations which have taken place thus far, the United States has suggested treaty clauses which would place the Republic of Panama in the position of a legal ward of the United States instead of the present virtual guardianship. Panama has declined even to discuss that possibility, declaring that during two decades of independence she has proved that she is able to govern herself without any outside interference. Another American purpose is that the Canal Zone should actually become American territory. Panama objects on legal, economic and sentimental grounds. A re-

vision of the Constitution would be necessary, which the people of Panama would be certain to reject, because, if the Zone were made United States territory and the present commercial and industrial restrictions were removed, the Zone, because of its exceptional position and greater facilities, would become the industrial and economic centre of the Isthmus and thus destroy the economic life of Panama.

As concerns the interpretation of the Canal Treaty and of the Taft Agreement, the United States has, quite naturally, acted upon the principle that the operation and the protection of the canal are paramount and that even the legitimate interests and, in an emergency, even the treaty rights of Panama must be subordinated. Panama has already conceded that the essential requirements of the canal cannot be made the object of international discussion and that the United States must be made the sole judge. On the other hand, Panama claims that both the civil and military authorities in the Canal Zone have often carried the point too far and that they have enforced claims reaching far beyond any essential canal requirement. Above all, citizens of Panama say that they feel keenly a lack of continuity in the policies of both the State and the War Departments of the United States and of the canal administration. But what, probably, is most keenly felt by Panama is that she is the only American nation which has never had a taste of complete independence. The republic was created under the protection of the United States and has ever since been considered a ward of the American Government. In various ways there is less freedom than under Colombian rule.

An essential demand by Panama is that the terms of the present treaty which grant to the United States "the use, occupation and control of any other land and waters * * * which may be necessary for the operation * * * and protection of the canal" be rewritten. In their interpretation of that clause the canal military authorities have from time to time claimed and actually seized, without any kind of procedure, parts of the territory of Panama outside the Canal

Zone. Panama has no inclination to dispute the right of the United States to all the land which may be needed for canal purposes, but she contends that the treaty does not grant any more than the right of eminent domain and that no additional territory should be taken without negotiations and, if necessary, legal proceedings. In a memorandum submitted to the State Department in January, 1921, the Government of Panama takes the ground that "inasmuch as the canal has been completed, the United States should definitely declare that it now holds all the land necessary for the protection of the waterway, thus affording a safeguard against appropriations which might eventually result in the absorption of the entire republic," adding that "it is necessary, once for all, to reach an agreement that will take away from the treaty its indefinite character as to the amount of concessions which the Republic of Panama is bound to make." To this the State Department replied that "changes of armaments and military methods may from time to time render the taking of additional land necessary for many years to come."

Panama's principal demand of an economic nature is that the Canal Administration should refrain from activities which are not connected with canal operation. The Panama Government has often felt alarmed because of the tendency of too-zealous canal officials, desirous of rendering their situations more secure by efforts to make the canal a more flourishing business enterprise, arbitrarily to absorb much business that legitimately belongs to the private enterprise of citizens of Panama. On that subject, the Panama Government wrote to the State Department: "Some of the officials who have been in charge of the administration of the Canal Zone seem to be under the impression that what they have on hand is merely a business proposition which must pay and which they will make pay without regard or consideration for the interests of the Republic of Panama."

This tendency to extend the purely commercial activities of the canal has expressed itself in various ways. There has been, for instance, expropriation of territory for the purpose of leasing it to pri-

vate enterprises not immediately connected with the canal. There have especially been, Panama claims, manifest abuses of the right to import free of duty all that is necessary for the construction and operation of the canal. On this subject, Panama asserts that "the fiscal jurisdiction of the Panama Canal Zone from an international point of view, that is to say, in so far as imports and exports are concerned, has not ceased to be vested in the Republic of Panama." Based upon that contention Panama does not think it right that the Zone commissaries, with their extraordinary facilities for the purchasing and shipping of merchandise, already free from the burden of paying interest on the investment, and free from taxation should, in addition, be exempted from paying customs duties on such luxuries as tobacco, silk and laces, and thereby be able to undersell private Panama traders. Panama also complains that the two large hotels which the Canal Administration maintains at Ancon and Colon, as well as several restaurants in the Zone, primarily established for employes, are now open to the general public, and because of their freedom from taxation and customs duties are able to compete on unfair terms. It is also regarded as rather petty for a great nation like the United States to permit the Canal Administration to rent apartments and even furnished rooms to non-employes at lower rates than private competitors must charge to meet expenses.

Panama does not criticise the Government of the United States, but attributes the cause of these grievances to a lack of co-operation by canal officials, and it wishes that in the new treaty mutual rights and obligations be better defined, so that there may be less scope for one-sided interpretations by the Canal Administration. The Panama Government is also anxious that the right claimed by the United States to interfere in behalf of peace and order should be clarified. The aim of that clause in the treaty was to insure uninterrupted traffic through the canal and to prevent the possibility of damage because of local disorders. At no time has any conflict arisen on that score, but Panama wishes the provision stated more clearly so as to secure her independence.

AMERICA'S PRESENT NAVAL ORGANIZATION

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

How the naval defense of the United States and its oversea interests are provided for by the Navy Department at Washington—The work of the bureaus and their chiefs

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE is the supreme Commander-in-Chief of all our naval forces and he is personally represented in the service by his Secretary of the Navy, Edwin Denby, and the Assistant Secretary, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. In the hands of these two men rests the full responsibility for the naval service. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary held full military and civil sway over the department in the past, but since the Wilson Administration the military authority has been placed in the hands of tried naval officers of the highest rank. These officers, Chiefs of Operations, have been directly responsible to the Secretary, but they have held the actual military command in their offices instead of having it behind the closed doors of the Secretary's office.

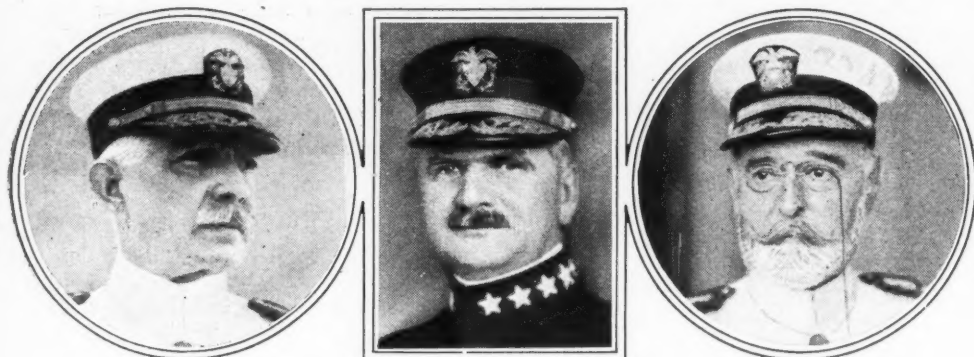
With the sanction of the Secretary of the Navy all the various bureaus of the department have settled down to work under a commanding officer who understands the problems of each individual bureau. No longer do the bureaus vie with one another for favors to come from the Secretary's office. Their work is coordinated and the appropriation bills are stabilized. The appropriation estimates are so well ordered under this system that it is impossible for any bureau, or even the office of the Secretary itself, to ask for and receive funds other than those necessary to the proper administration of the navy.

The present Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Edward Walter Eberle, was selected for this position, the highest in the department, after a highly success-

ful career as a flag officer. He practically rebuilt the general organization and educational system at the Naval Academy at Annapolis after the war. Then as the Commander-in-Chief of our newly formed battle fleet, which operates off the west coast, he again proved his administrative ability. He succeeds a man who has held the office for four years under two Administrations of entirely opposite political faith, Admiral Robert E. Coontz. During his tenure the navy faced demolition at the hands of Congress, when certain members attempted to reduce the navy to a quarter of its established and treaty strength. That the cut in the navy ceased at 86,000 men instead of 50,000 is due in great part to the efforts of Admiral Coontz.

The Bureau of Operations is the coordinating and commanding bureau of the entire Navy Department. And at the same time it is the receptacle for various small bureaus which cannot be incorporated into others established by Congress. Before naval aviation was made a full-fledged bureau by act of Congress, it was the "Aviation Division" of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. Other divisions are concerned with war plans, submarines and their operations, policy and liaison, ships' movements, communications, gunnery exercises and engineering performances, the naval districts, the War College at Newport and, last but not least, naval intelligence. This last division is the one from which all "news" relative to the navy emanates. It also has charge of keeping the service informed as to developments in foreign navies and is the

CHIEFS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY



From left to right: Rear Admiral HILARY P. JONES, member of the General Board of the Navy; Rear Admiral ROBERT E. COONTZ, Commander-in-Chief of the fleet; Rear Admiral EDWARD W. EBERLE, Chief of Naval Operations

agency which protects our own service from foreign espionage. The Director of Naval Intelligence is Captain Luke McNamee. He was on the naval staff at the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919, and was one of the naval advisers at the Conference for Limitation of Armament.

THE BOARD OF NAVIGATION

Before the Office of Naval Operations was created, the Bureau of Navigation was the most powerful division of the Navy Department. It is the personnel division and controls all promotions and retirements through the medium of a Board of Selection. It controls all personnel records and has charge of America's share of the world's hydrography. The chief of this bureau is Rear Admiral Andrew T. Long, who is returning to the department from the command of our forces in European waters. Before taking command of the European squadron Admiral Long was Chief of Staff to Admiral Hilary P. Jones, Commander-in-Chief of the American Fleets.

Next in importance is the Bureau of Ordnance, which builds and tests guns, bombs, torpedoes, gases, powders and all other systems of offense and defense. Rear Admiral Charles B. McVay is chief of the bureau.

The machinery problems of the navy are handled by the Bureau of Engineering, the chief of which is Rear Admiral J. K. Robison. This bureau handles the engine

problems, together with all the records of engineering practice aboard our ships. Radio is under this bureau. Admiral Robison is an intensely practical man, who has been focusing the attention of the naval service to prove that engineering qualifications should prove no bar to promotion in the line. While some opposition has developed to the Admiral's views, the strength of his position would seem to indicate that measures will be taken by the department by which younger officers may follow their natural talent in engineering without jeopardizing their future career.

Aviation is the latest bureau of the navy. Its chief is Rear Admiral W. A. Moffet. While there has been much idle talk of airplanes taking the place of battleships and even navies from those of little or no experience either at sea or in the air, Admiral Moffet has steered a safe course for public opinion in his announcements and speeches. He states from the full authority of his experience and observation and in his official capacity as our Naval Aviation Chief that airplanes have not taken the place of battleships or any other types of modern naval weapons, but that they have added a new arm to our fleets which is growing rapidly in importance and from which we may expect even greater developments than in the past.

The legal department of the service, explaining inter-service relations and laws, is that of the Judge Advocate General. Officers of both the navy and the Marine Corps are on duty in this office, which is

presided over by Rear Admiral J. L. Latimer.

The Bureau of Construction and Repair is the first department officered by specialists. Its personnel is composed of the highest types of naval constructors and marine architects available. It has jurisdiction over the construction and repair of all ships of the navy, whether built at navy yards or in private establishments. Rear Admiral J. D. Bueret (C. C.) has just succeeded Admiral D. W. Taylor as chief of the bureau.

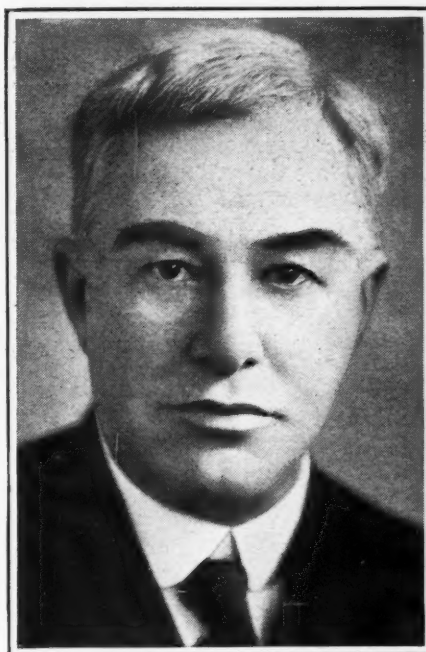
Rear Admiral L. E. Gregory is Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, which is operated by the Civil Engineers' Corps (C. E. C.) of the Navy. The duties of this Bureau are in connection with the building and maintenance of all our navy yards, bases, depots, storehouses and docks.

The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts is operated by the Supply Corps of the Navy. It is a Bureau of highly developed accountants and business men. It buys all general supplies for the Navy and operates the paymaster's department. Rear Admiral David Potter (S. C.), is Chief of the bureau.

Doctors and dentists for the service are under the general orders of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery. All naval hospitals and dispensaries, afloat and ashore, are operated by this bureau, which conducts, in addition, extensive medical and surgical research. Rear Admiral E. R. Stitt (M. C.), is Chief of the bureau.

Finally comes the headquarters of the United States Marine Corps. At present the Major General Commandant is Major General John A. Lejeune, U. S. M. C. The Marine organization is departmental, to cover all the necessary functions of this army within the Navy, from the training of the recruit to his assignment aboard ship or to a regiment at the Marine base at Quantico, Va., or to a regiment on duty in Santo Domingo. Contrary to the popular belief, only a few marines are assigned to ships of the Navy in comparison with the number in the service. The Marines are concentrated at training camps, ready for expeditionary duty, a mobile army ready to operate with the Navy at any point on the earth's surface.

All these bureaus are organized to keep



Harris & Ewing

ADMIRAL W. L. RODGERS
Chairman of the General Board of the
United States Navy

the floating Navy in being. "The fleet is the Navy." The bureaus do not fight, except as they supply the fleet with the men, money and materials.

NAVAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

To the end of perfecting the defense of our country and its possessions, the whole nation is organized into naval districts with a Captain or Rear Admiral in charge of each. They are numbered from one, which includes the New England States and has its headquarters at the Boston Yard, to sixteen. The Sixteenth Naval District includes the Philippine Islands and is commanded from the naval station at Cavite. The Second Naval District has been done away with in the interests of national economy and its duties and territory have been taken over by the First and Third Districts. Within these districts are the naval bases at which the fleet is repaired and maintained, and at which vessels not in active service are stored. A naval base regulates the radii of opera-

tion of all naval vessels and therein lies their importance to us and the strength or weakness of the best ships we may build.

The Commander-in-chief of the United States Fleet, which includes practically all our forces afloat, is Admiral Robert E. Coontz, who for the past four years has been the administrative head of the Navy as Chief of Operations. Naval officers must divide their time between shore and sea duty and the regular course for a naval officer is three years ashore and then three years at sea. Admiral Coontz held the shore command of Chief of Operations for four years because the new Administration could not spare his services and he now goes to sea in the highest command possible to a naval officer—Commander-in-chief of the forces afloat. He succeeds in command Admiral Hilary P. Jones, who, having completed his three-year tour of sea duty, now goes ashore to become a member of the General Board at Washington. The fleet is divided into two distinct forces, the Scouting Fleet under the command of Vice Admiral Newton A. McCully and the battle fleet under the command of Admiral S. S. Robison.

The Scouting fleet consists of a division of four battleships, three divisions of new fast cruisers as a destroyer force, aircraft squadrons, train and control force. The destroyers of the fleet are directly under Admiral McCully. The vessels of the train are commanded by Rear Admiral L. R. de Steiguer, the control force is commanded by Rear Admiral M. M. Taylor. The aircraft squadrons are commanded by Captain W. R. Gherardi. This fleet operates in the Atlantic.

The Battle fleet, which operates in the Pacific, consists of three divisions of battleships, each division commanded by a Rear Admiral; a destroyer force, commanded by Rear Admiral S. E. W. Kittelle, and the fleet base force, under the command of Rear Admiral J. V. Chase. The aircraft squadrons are commanded by Captain A. W. Marshall. The battleship force of the Battle fleet is commanded by Vice Admiral H. A. Wiley.

Our Asiatic fleet, consisting of an ar-

mored cruiser, some submarines, gunboats, auxiliaries and a division of destroyers, is commanded by Vice Admiral Thomas Washington, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Navigation.

Our naval forces in Europe consist of an armored cruiser and several destroyers and are commanded by Vice Admiral Philip Andrews, who has relieved Admiral Long.

There is also the Special Service squadron, which was established for the protection of our interests in the tropics and the maintenance of the general peace. It is not directly under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, as its duties are not strictly those of a fleet, but rather of a diplomatic nature. Rear Admiral John H. Dayton has succeeded Admiral Cole in command. The force now consists of the armored cruiser Rochester and four light cruisers.

In addition to those vessels of the various fleets with purely military duties, we maintain a regular naval transportation service, operating between the two coasts and running out to our forces in the tropics, in Europe and in Asia. Then, too, we maintain various other craft on subsidiary duties, such as the President's yacht, the Mayflower, and the Fish Hawk, on duty with the Bureau of Fisheries.

The military staff of the navy, to which all important problems are referred by the Secretary, is continually in session at Washington. It reports only to the Secretary and in the strictest confidence. At present the following officers are assigned to this General Board: Rear Admiral W. L. Rodgers, Chairman; Rear Admiral Joseph Straus, Rear Admiral Hilary P. Jones, Rear Admiral Frank H. Schofield, Commander F. A. Todd and Lieut. Col. L. C. Lucas, a retired officer of the Marines. The General Board has the full control in the preliminaries and all the final plans for any proposed new capital ships and follows the building from the initial plans to its finish, which at a minimum requires three years, thus demonstrating that a fleet cannot be built in time of war: it must be in a state of complete preparedness as the surest safeguard against war.



Publishers' Photo Service

The principal street where the theatres and movie shows of Yokohama were located and one of the few thoroughfares which retained its Oriental character. The long bamboo poles supported the signs which announced the name of the play or movie shown in the theatre

JAPAN'S ORDEAL THROUGH EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American correspondent of the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokio Nichi-Nichi; author of "American-Japanese Relations" and other books

*The appalling disaster that has almost completely destroyed the imperial capital and spread destruction in the interior—
Dead and injured estimated at hundreds of thousands*

FROM time immemorial the Japanese lived and died, toiled and played, reared palaces and built homes upon what was naught but volcanic ranges or, more scientifically, upon ridges caused by the wrinkling of the earth in the process of the gradual cooling and consequent heaving of the globe. The same process, in a lesser degree, still goes on. The great earthquake, from whose harrowing effect the Japanese are struggling to recover, was evidently caused by a gigantic submarine landslide for which an accumulation of the "wrinkling" movement was probably responsible.

According to Japanese seismologists Japan has had in the past one severe earthquake every six years. As for minor shocks, they are so numerous that we can hardly believe the reports of the scientist. According to official reports received by the Japanese Embassy at Washington, the great earthquake of Sept. 1 was followed by no fewer than 1,319 shocks up to the evening of Sept. 8. Scientists tell us that the average yearly number of earthquakes in Japan is at least 1,460, not including those noticeable only on delicate seismographs. The Japanese know, as certainly as they know that night follows day,

that every ten or twenty years a great disaster overtakes them in one section or another. In the moment of desperation after the earthquake the other week some talked of removing the capital from ill-fated Tokio. But where? To the ancient city of Kyoto? But in 1596 a great earthquake completely wrecked Kyoto and leveled the then magnificent city of Fushimi. In 1854, 1891 and 1900, provinces adjacent to Kyoto were visited with disastrous earthquakes. The Japanese seem fated to remain where they are and make the best of a precarious country with cheerfulness and courage. And, indeed, they have faced the present disaster with admirable fortitude and heroic resolution. While Tokio was still ablaze Premier Count Yamamoto and Home Minister Viscount Goto issued a proclamation exhorting the nation to be calm and courageous. "We must unite and rebuild," said the proclamation. "A brave nation must always be brave. It must be braver in hardships than in ease. The whole nation must unite to do everything in its power and rush the work of rehabilitation."

The unprecedented earthquake came

without warning a few minutes before noon on Sept. 1. The shock was so violent that its work of destruction was completed in a few minutes, reducing to debris not only Tokio, Yokohama and Yokosuka, but numerous other cities in the surrounding districts. To add to the terror of the holocaust, fire broke out in almost every one of the destroyed cities, its fury often aided by bursting oil tanks and broken gas pipes. In Tokio by 4 o'clock the same afternoon fire was raging in at least twelve different sections, and lasted until the evening of Sept. 3, when more than 350,000 houses, or 75 per cent. of the total number of houses in the metropolis, had been converted into smoldering charcoal and ashes. All the Government buildings, with the exception of the Navy and Justice buildings, were destroyed by the flames. All the foreign embassies and legations met the same fate, although the Ambassadors and Ministers, as well as their staffs, were able to escape. Today 1,400,000 inhabitants, or almost 80 per cent. of Tokio's entire population, are homeless, many of them separated forever from their closest relatives. In the confusion that followed



Publishers' Photo Service

One of the modern business streets of Tokio, showing how Japan has been influenced by the West. This section was once before visited by fire

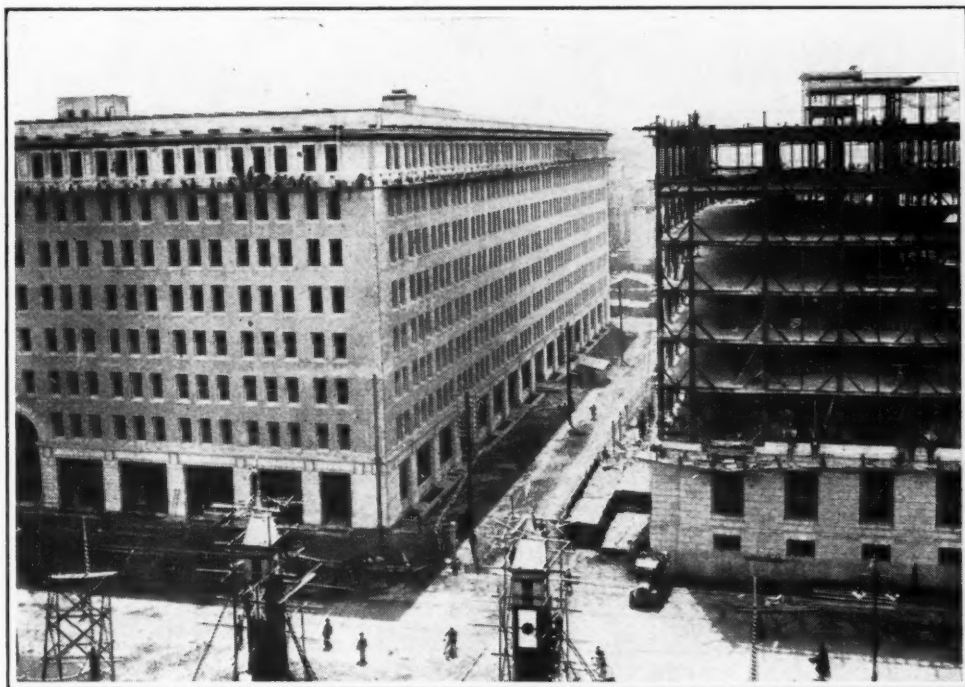


Photo by Burton Holmes

The Marino-uchi Building, near the Central Station, Tokio. It was the largest office building in the Japanese capital

it is impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the toll of life. Official information seems hardly more reliable than the excited reports of eye-witnesses. On Sept. 7 the Home Department estimated the number of dead in Tokio at 47,000. The next day the figures rose to 60,000; on Sept. 10, the figures from the same source were 84,114; on Sept. 12, the number of dead and injured was 1,356,749. And so it is, at this writing (Sept. 13), impossible to give anything like exact figures of dead and injured. When a comprehensive estimate is made Tokio's dead will reach 100,000, with a proportionately large number of injured.

The city of Tokio covers an area of twenty-nine square miles and has a population of 2,174,000, divided into 457,000 households. These are figures of the census of October, 1920, and do not include the vast suburbs, the population of which must number almost a million and a half. What we call the prefecture of Tokio-fu, which includes the city, the suburbs and the surrounding rural districts, has an

area of 103 square miles and a population of 4,000,000. The city of Tokio is divided into fifteen wards, of which six wards, Honjo, Fukagawa, Nihonbashi, Kyobashi, Kanda and Akasaka, with a total area of 16.7 square miles and a population of 1,100,000, are officially reported "totally destroyed." Four wards, Shitaya, Hongo, Shiba and Yotsuya, aggregating 146 square miles and 474,000 inhabitants, are officially described as "half destroyed." Three wards, Koishikawa, Kojimachi and Akasaka totaling 11.2 square miles and a population of 215,000, are reported "partially destroyed." Lastly, two wards, Azabu and Ushigome, 7.6 square miles in area and with a population of 190,000, are reported "not destroyed, but seriously damaged."

It was in the "totally destroyed" section, particularly Nihonbashi and Kyobashi, that Tokio's greatest business houses were located. Here stood great department stores with every modern equipment. Here were Ginza, famous among foreigners as the Fifth Avenue of Tokio, and



Publishers' Photo Service

Asakusa Street, a street of theatres and places of amusement in one of the most popular sections of Tokio and a great resort for tourists and holidaymakers

Hinonbashi-dori, its Broadway. Great financial institutions, such as the Bank of Japan and the Mitsui Bank, were also here. Viscount Shibusawa, the great financier and philanthropist, who had his office in this district, is still reported missing. In the "half destroyed" district were the Imperial Museum, with its priceless collections, Zojoji Temple, the mortuary shrine of the Togugawa Shogunate, with its invaluable treasure of paintings by Japan's great old masters, and the Imperial University. In the "partially destroyed" district stands the Imperial Palace, which escaped destruction. Here is also a completely modernized business section, some two square miles in area, lying between the Central Railway Station and the palace. In this section stood concrete, iron-frame office buildings, six to twelve stories high, each representing an expenditure of millions of dollars. The Imperial Hotel, the Bankers' Club, the Industrial Club and the Tokio Club, the pride of Japan's business men, were also here. Most of these modern structures are reported intact, though as having suffered more or less serious dam-

age. Foreign embassies and legations as well as the Government buildings were in this district.

In Yokohama, Tokio's outlet to the sea and eighteen miles southwest of the capital city, the disaster was even greater in proportion to its population and number of households. The city had a population of 423,000, including a little over 3,000 Europeans and Americans, according to the census of 1920. With the means of transportation and communication between Tokio and Yokohama completely destroyed, it is not yet possible to obtain any reliable information as to the ravages wrought at that once thriving commercial port. The number of dead among the foreigners was officially estimated on Sept. 8 at 150. Even admitting that many of the foreign residents had left Yokohama for the Summer, this seems too conservative an estimate. It is reported, though not yet confirmed, that 10,000 were killed in the Hakone mountain resorts, the favorite rendezvous of Yokohama residents, and it is possible that a considerable number of foreigners were among them. Excepting the

Mexican and Italian Consulates, all the Consulates were razed to the ground. All Consuls who happened to be in Yokohama, except the German, Italian and Mexican Consuls, were killed. Up to Sept. 7 Yokohama's toll of life was officially reported to be 23,000, with 40,000 injured. The next day the official estimate was 110,000 for both dead and injured. Of Yokohama's 95,000 houses at least 75,000 were destroyed by the earthquake and then by fire.

On the day after the earthquake, while Tokio was still ablaze and the earth still heaving, the new Yamamoto Cabinet was organized on the open ground adjoining the Akasaka, detached palace of the Prince Regent. With remarkable vigor and resolution the new Government took hold of the appalling situation. It organized a relief bureau with Premier Yamamoto and Home Minister Goto as directors, and enforced martial law in Tokio and the three prefectures of Kanagawa, Chiba and Saitama, a territory of some 10,839 square miles. Requisition and anti-profiteering

regulations were issued and punishment meted out to all those who attempted to take advantage of the food shortage. Well-disciplined soldiers and military engineers were rushed to Tokio and Yokohama from the nearest divisions. Due to their splendid work, perfect order was maintained throughout the cities and by Sept. 8 trolley and lighting systems and the water works in Tokio were again partially in operation.

Considerable difficulty was added to the work of the military by the presence of 10,000 Koreans in Tokio and in the smaller cities. Foreign eyewitnesses tell blood-curdling tales of violence committed by Koreans upon defenseless Japanese in the countryside. In Tokio some of the Koreans were guilty of the incendiarism and looting in the midst of heartrending tragedy. The nerve-shattered Japanese, enraged by these inhuman acts, were inclined to take the law in their own hands, but the military exercised a restraining influence and placed the Koreans where they could be well protected.

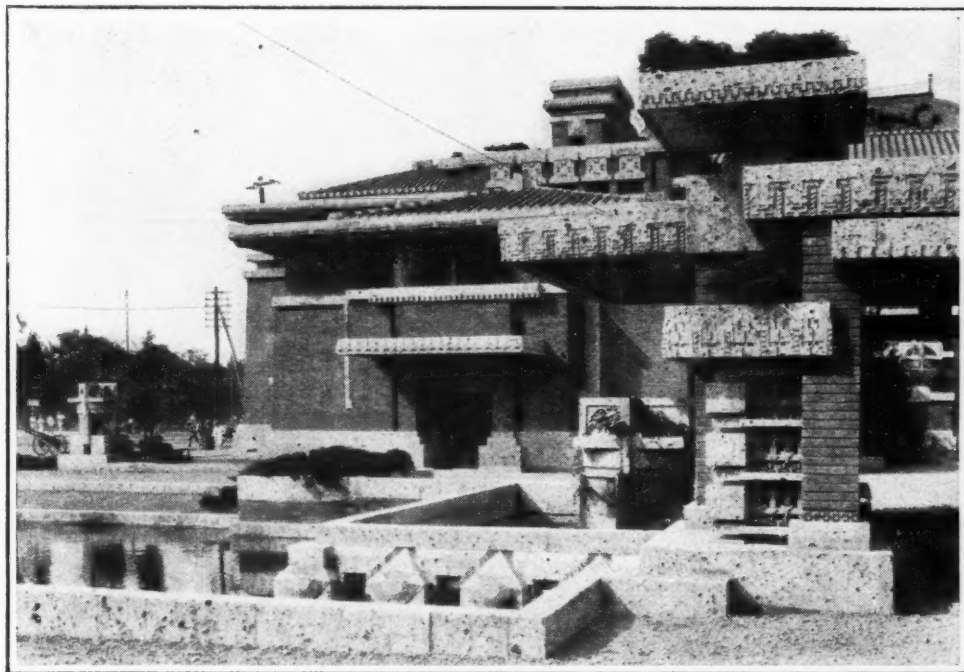


Photo by Burton Holmes

The Imperial Hotel, Tokio, which was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, the American architect. The originality of the building arose from the striking manner in which the designer adapted it to Japanese surroundings.

Immediately after the earthquake the Government appropriated 9,500,000 yen (\$4,750,000) for relief, while the Emperor contributed 10,000,000 yen (\$5,000,000). On Sept. 8 the Government appropriation was increased to 520,000,000 yen (\$260,000,000). The Mitsui and Iwasaki (Mitsubishi) families contributed \$2,500,000 each, while Sumitomo contributed \$1,250,000. By Sept. 8 the Bank of Japan, the

waiving the privileges laid down in the earthquake clauses in their policies. On Sept. 7 the Government declared a thirty-day moratorium in the devastated zone on obligations contracted before Sept. 1. This does not apply to Government and municipal obligations, claims of wages of labor, or the withdrawal of bank deposits not exceeding 100 yen. By Sept. 8 the railways entering Tokio, except the most badly



Photo by Burton Holmes

One of the many canals of Tokio

Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Yokohama Specie, Industrial, Yasuda, Taiwan, Hypothec, Dai-ichi, and Thirty-first Banks reopened their doors for business. The vaults of these banks and the buildings of some were undamaged. The Bank of Japan has resources of 2,320,000,000 yen. The Yokohama Specie Bank, despite the great disaster, announced on Sept. 9 that the usual semi-annual dividend of 6 per cent. would be paid in cash. The same day twenty-seven Japanese life insurance companies decided to pay the claims of earthquake victims, while other insurance companies resolved to pay their full insurance losses,

damaged Tokai-do line, were opened, thanks to the labor of the military engineers. The telephone service and omnibus traffic between Tokio and Yokohama were also resumed.

Meanwhile the world went to the rescue of Japan. The United States has been particularly generous, proving that her friendship for Japan is deep-seated and sincere. In their endeavor to help Japan the American Government and people have done everything within their power, as if the catastrophe had befallen their own country. The American warships were the first to arrive at the scene of disaster with



Photo by Burton Holmes

The Island of Enoshima, near Kamakura, reported to have been destroyed by the recent earthquake



Photo by Burton Holmes

A typical Japanese hotel in Tokio. In the foreground there will be noted a couple of rickshaws, which serve the purposes of taxicabs in the East

provisions and medical supplies. At this writing the American Red Cross relief fund alone has almost reached \$5,000,000. Such spontaneous, magnificent expressions of sympathy cannot fail to exercise a profound influence upon American-Japanese relations. Both the Prince Regent and Premier Yamamoto have cabled to the American Government their gratitude for all that America has done for the stricken nation.

The real extent of Japan's material loss cannot be estimated at this moment. Some experts place it at \$1,000,000,000 for Tokio and Yokohama alone. Outside the two cities devastation extends over a vast country, comprising five or six prefectures. Although official reports are meagre, the following provinces or prefectures seem to have been either entirely or partially devastated:

Prefecture.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population.
Tokyo-fu	613.2	3,700,000
Kanagawa	690.6	1,324,000
Chiba	1,940.9	1,336,000
Shizuoka	2,994.7	1,550,000
Saitama	1,583.6	1,320,000
Yamanashi	2,315.7	584,000
Total	10,138.7	9,814,000

The prefectures of Tokio-fu, Kanagawa and Chiba form a semicircle embracing the Bay of Tokio. This region suffered most severely. Besides Tokio and Yokohama, it includes Yokosuka, the naval har-

bor city; Kanakura and Hakone, the famous seashore and mountain resorts; Chiba, the capital of the prefecture of the same name, and numerous other cities and towns, ranging in population from a few thousand to 60,000. Shizuoka prefecture, at least a half of which has been devastated, is on the farther side of the Hakone Mountains at the foot of Mount Fuji, the "sacred mountain," and faces the Pacific Ocean. It is famous for its tea industry. Although the shock was severest along the coast, its destructive effect was felt far in the interior. Thus the interior prefectures of Saitama and Yamanashi are reported among the devastated provinces.

Japan is fortunate in having Viscount Goto as Minister of Home Affairs at this critical time. The task of rehabilitation will largely fall upon his shoulders. He is a man of large calibre and keen vision. He conceives great ideas and stints neither money nor labor upon what he believes should be done for the good of the country. Under his able direction Tokio and Yokohama may yet rise from the ashes as modern cities, far better than what they were before the earthquake. It is also fortunate that the devastated region is not Japan's industrial centre. Although Tokio had two or three modern cotton mills, electrical factories, and chemical works, it was a consuming rather than a producing city. Japan, accepting the inevitable, will face the future with indomitable courage and uncomplaining cheerfulness.



Photo by Burton Holmes

The Crown Prince's palace, Tokio. It has never been used by the Japanese imperial family, though it was placed at the disposal of the Prince of Wales during his visit in 1922

EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 16]

STEPS TOWARD A FRANCO-GERMAN COMPROMISE

THE British note of Aug. 11, the text of which was given in this magazine for September, was received at first with marked hostility by the French Press. The Paris *Matin* pointed out that the amount of reparations demanded by Great Britain (14,020,000,000 gold marks), was "exactly the amount that England must pay to the United States." British opinion, as indicated by the London press, was divided, but the stock market was not materially affected. It was announced that France and Belgium would make separate replies, but Premier Poincaré, in speeches at Marville and Stenay on Aug. 12 and at Charleville on Aug. 19, repeated his former declarations that French policy in the Ruhr would not be changed.

One of the last acts of the Cuno Government before Dr. Stresemann became Chancellor was to notify the Reparation Commission that deliveries in kind would cease on and after Aug. 11. On that date the Inter-Allied High Commission ordered the seizure of mines in the occupied territory on the ground of failure to deliver reparations fuel, and a Commission of Control was appointed to administer the mines and sell the output, the cost of production and transport to be charged to Germany. On Aug. 14 the coke ovens on the Rhine-Elbe Canal were taken over by the French, the 2,000 German employes being ordered to remain pending the arrival of French workers. The next day all railway communication with Düsseldorf except by French trains was cut off, street railways and automobiles were forbidden and a French permit was required for bicycles. Eight directors of an aniline soda factory at Ludwigshafen were sentenced by a French court-martial to eight years' imprisonment and 150,000,000 marks fine each for their refusal to aid the delivery of nitrogen fertilizers which had been requisitioned. Seventeen members of the fire department and rescue squad of the Rhine-Elbe mine at Gelsenkirchen were arrested on Aug. 19 by the French and taken to Recklinghausen, following which the mine workers declared a protest strike.

The shortage of food and paper currency, the former ascribed by the French to hoarding or speculation, together with wage disagreements and general economic and political disturbance, led to frequent collisions between civilians and the German police or troops of occupation. At Gelsenkirchen on Aug. 12 seven persons were

reported killed and nineteen wounded when a demonstration against the cost of living was suppressed, and there were similar disorders at Grefeld, Rhinehausen and Waltrop. Serious rioting, which continued intermittently for several days, broke out at Aix-la-Chapelle and its vicinity. On Aug. 16 the Mine Owners Association of the Ruhr threatened a lockout of workers who reported for work but failed to work, while a week later 200,000 workers in the Essen district were reported to be affected by a lockout in several mines following a failure to agree about wages. Similar lockouts, it was affirmed, involved a million textile workers. The French continued to seize large quantities of marks, the more important seizures reported comprising 9,250,000,000 marks at Limburg, 697,000,000 at Lutzel, near Coblenz, 14,000,000,000 at Essen; 12,000,000,000 at Düsseldorf, 45,000,000,000 at Bochum, 12,000,000,000 at Recklinghausen, 6,000,000,000 at Dortmund and 600,000,000 at Dorstfeld. On Aug. 23 two mines in the Essen district were occupied by the French. A fine of 3,000,000,000 marks was imposed by the Belgian authorities upon Duisburg on account of the bombing outrage in July.

In his inaugural speech in the Reichstag on Aug. 14 Chancellor Stresemann outlined the conditions under which Germany would consent to abandon passive resistance in the Ruhr. The conditions were the complete restoration of German control of the Ruhr, the re-establishment of conditions in the Rhineland as guaranteed by the Treaty of Versailles, and the liberation of German citizens who had been imprisoned or deported. No mention was made of the evacuation of the occupied territory by the allied forces. On the same day a representative of the French Comité des Forges was reported to be negotiating with the Stinnes, Krupp, Stumm, Haniel and Thyssen interests. A correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, however, writing from Düsseldorf, stated that after five months of occupation the German spirit of endurance and resistance was still strong. The French, it was added, were unable to produce more than 12,000 tons of coke per day in the Ruhr area, and only four cokeries were being worked by French labor. A note from Secretary of State Hughes, addressed to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany, intended as a statement of the position of President Coolidge on the reparations issue, indicated no change in

the attitude of the American Government. On Aug. 17 the terms of a French loan to Belgium for the purpose of sustaining the value of Belgian currency were agreed upon at Paris.

FRENCH AND BELGIAN REPLIES TO GREAT BRITAIN

The reply of Premier Poincaré to the British note of Aug. 11, the text of which will be found on pages 61-71, this issue, was handed to the British Ambassador at Paris on Aug. 21. The note, a categorical rejoinder, point by point, to the statements of the British note, reaffirmed the demand of France for reparations to the amount of 26,000,000,000 gold marks to pay for reconstruction, plus whatever amount must be paid by France to Great Britain and the United States on account of war loans; declared that France was convinced of the ability of Germany to pay the indicated amount; asserted that France had entered the Ruhr for the purpose of compelling Germany to pay, and that the occupation would continue until payment was made or satisfactorily arranged for; stated that neither Great Britain nor the United States would be paid until the full amount of 26,000,000,000 gold marks had been received, and rejected the proposal of an inquiry by an international commission of experts to determine Germany's capacity to pay.

The Belgian reply, made public on Aug. 28, while agreeing with that of France in its insistence upon effective guarantees of reparation payments before the Ruhr could be evacuated, declared that the British position with reference to Belgian priority in payment had "produced a painful impression in Belgium." The occupation of the Ruhr, although prevented from being "invisible" by German resistance, was nevertheless defended as "in principle, in spirit and in form essentially a taking of pledges"; a progressive return to the situation as of Jan. 10 would be begun, in co-operation with France, as soon as passive resistance ceased. The suggestion that there was any intention of prolonging the occupation indefinitely or permanently was repudiated. The Belgian plan laid before the British Government on July 30 was summarized, and the belief was expressed that the discussion of the subject might profitably be continued in "friendly and discreet conversations" without resort to a conference.

Following the publication of the French and Belgian notes, reports of an approaching accord between the German and French Governments multiplied. In a speech before the National Association of Chambers of Commerce at Berlin, on Aug. 24, Chancellor Stresemann had hinted at possible sacrifices that Germany must make. On Sept. 3 The New York Times correspondent at Paris discussed at length the terms on which it was believed that Premier Poincaré was prepared to enter into an economic agreement with Germany. The negotiations of German industrial

leaders with the representative of the Comité des Forges continued, and secret instructions were said to have been issued for the gradual resumption of work in the Ruhr. On Sept. 4 the German Government intervened in the strike of the Ruhr miners, hoping thereby, it was said, to prevent the workers from going over to the French, but the strike was settled by agreement between the workers and the employers on terms better than those which the French offered. A conference of French and German industrialists at Wiesbaden on Sept. 8 resulted in a deadlock, but discussions were resumed, and a conference of British, French, Belgian and German financiers shortly assembled at Liège. On Sept. 9 the German Imperial Economic Conference adopted resolutions calling for the immediate reduction "to an absolute minimum" of expenditures for passive resistance, and proposed the distribution of money for the support of such resistance through a committee representing the Government and various political and economic bodies, vested with dictatorial powers. The French Government denied official knowledge of intended German overtures, but Premier Poincaré, in a speech at Damvillers on Sept. 9, stated that he would look with favor upon economic treaties with Germany once a reparations agreement had been made, and that Chancellor Stresemann would be encouraged to seek terms from France. The German Ambassador to Belgium, who had been absent from his post since the occupation of the Ruhr, returned to Brussels on Sept. 7, and on the same day the French Ambassador at Berlin had an interview with the Chancellor. A report on Sept. 10 that a cessation of passive resistance had been ordered was not, however, confirmed.

The speech of Premier Poincaré at Damvillers, favorably received by the German press, was followed on Sept. 12 by a speech of Chancellor Stresemann in which, without referring specifically to the willingness of Germany to abandon passive resistance without conditions, he formulated the terms of the productive guarantees which, he declared, would meet the French conditions of evacuation if annexation were not contemplated. The guarantees comprised the hypothecation of private property in industry, commerce, agriculture and finance in such a way as to make such property available as collateral for loans. Such guarantees, it was explained, were superior to the pledges prescribed by the Treaty of Versailles, in that the latter mention public property only. The restoration of the Ruhr, including the assurance that the Ruhr will be evacuated, was, however, indispensable.

Prospects of early negotiations between France and Germany received a setback on Sept. 16 when Premier Poincaré, in two speeches at Dun-sur-Meuse and Brioules, forsook the conciliatory tone of his two preceding speeches, declared that Germany had not yet realized the true character

of the situation, and that the treaty guarantees must be carried out.

THE RHINELAND SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

The movement for the creation of a separate Rhineland State has played an increasingly prominent part in the controversy between the German and French Governments. On Aug. 13 some thirty delegates of the so-called Rhineland republic, acting under the authority of the congress of the Rhineland Popular Union at Coblenz, on July 29, handed to M. Tirard, the French High Commissioner at Coblenz, a letter addressed to Premier Poincaré asking for the immediate issuance of a Rhineland currency. A declaration issued at Coblenz on Aug. 14, signed by the leaders of the Rhenish People's Union and the League for Rhenish Independence, announced the merging of the two organizations in a common movement for independence, and demanded the immediate creation of a finance department for the Rhineland and the discontinuance of the payment of taxes to the Reich. The declaration apparently meant that Dr. Hans Dorten and Herr Smeets (who has recovered from the injuries which he received some months ago when an attempt was made to assassinate him at Cologne), had ceased to be rivals for the leadership of the separatist movement. According to a correspondent of *The New York Times*, however, the real power in the new union was not Dr. Dorten, whose original plans contem-

plated an autonomous State which should be a member of the German Reich, as the Weimer Constitution provides, but Herr von Metzen, formerly an engineer of the Krupp works at Essen, who calls for an independent State guaranteed by the Powers or by the League of Nations against aggression.

On the other hand, occasional outbreaks of violence indicated that the demand for separation was not everywhere endorsed. At Crefeld, on Aug. 13, several Germans were wounded in a demonstration in favor of a Rhineland republic. A similar demonstration at Munchen-Gladbach, on Aug. 26, was marked by a riot in which many persons were injured. Dr. Dorten, according to his supporters, was able to escape to Düsseldorf only "by passing himself off as an American journalist." The League of Rhenish Independence lodged an appeal with the authorities of occupation for "all possible moral and economic support," and denounced the attack as inspired from Berlin.

Some interest was aroused in the United States by the announcement, on Aug. 18, that Major General Henry T. Allen, formerly commander of the American army of occupation at Coblenz, had proposed to Secretary of State Hughes that the Rhineland be made a separate state, and that Mr. Hughes had made a study of the question and had sounded foreign Governments, including Germany, in regard to it. The attitude of the Cuno Government was said to have been one of unqualified opposition.

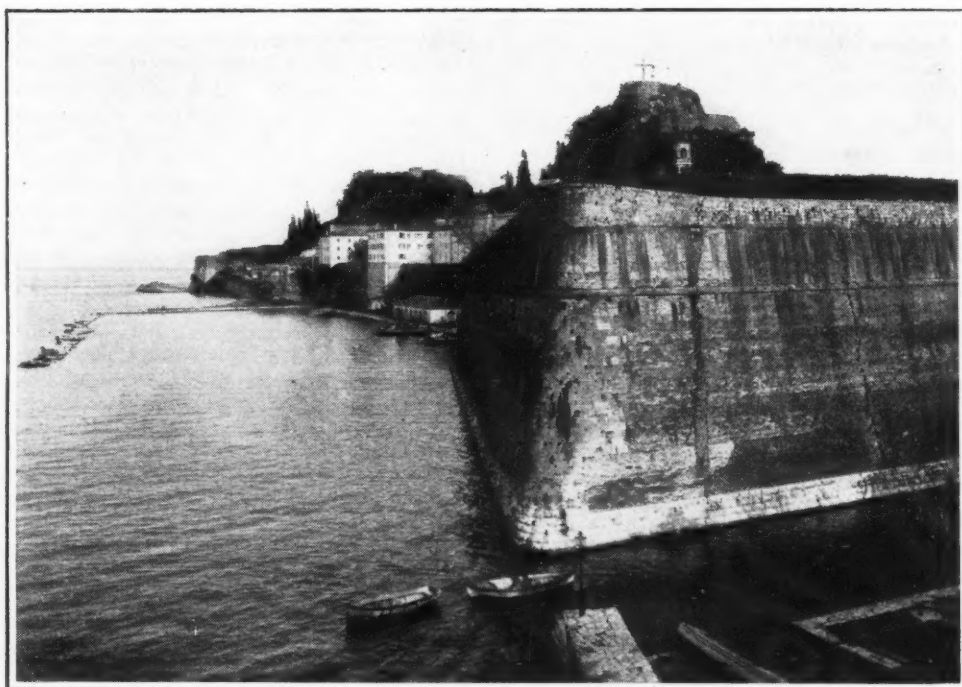
THE GRECO-ITALIAN CRISIS

THE overwhelming impression created throughout the world by the Greco-Italian crisis was chiefly due to the fact that no one expected it. A clash between Germany and France, and even between France and England, a conflict between Russia and Poland, between Russia and Rumania, or a sudden war between Italy and Jugoslavia, all these were within the realm of permissible speculation. But a break between Italy and Greece, and this on account of a mere border incident, so common in European history, especially at the present time of changing frontiers and unsettled conditions, left public opinion amazed and perplexed.

French officers were killed by Germans in Upper Silesia only a little over a year ago; a Russian Ambassador was murdered in cold blood in Switzerland only a few months ago; and an anti-Italian race riot took place in the United States only a few decades ago, and yet in no instance did the possibility of war come so near, as when a party of Italian Army officers were killed on Aug. 25 or Aug. 27 at a point comprised within the vague and still unsettled line that forms the Greco-Albanian frontier.

The circumstances under which this foul deed was accomplished were still uncertain when these pages went to press. There were no survivors to this tragedy; there were no eyewitnesses; no one knows exactly how the thing happened. The first news of the tragic incident came to America on Tuesday, Aug. 28, and was to the effect that the murder of General Tellini and four Italian members of his suite near Janina took place in the forenoon of the previous day. Subsequent dispatches stated that the murder occurred Saturday, Aug. 25.

The revolutionary Government of Athens hastened to express its regrets to the Italian Government as soon as it received the news. The Greek Foreign Minister, M. Alexandris in his note of Aug. 29 to the Italian Minister at Athens, expressed the profound regret of the Greek Government, and stated that steps had already been taken for the apprehension of the Janina murderers, who in the Greek view were more likely Albanians than Greeks. He further stated that a Greek destroyer had already left Piræus with a commission consisting of the Chief of the Gendarmerie, several military judges, some medical



The Old Fort which guards the entrance to the Harbor of Corfu, the capital of the Island of Corfu. The city is situated on the eastern coast on a promontory which terminates in a huge isolated rock crowned by the citadel. The island, which is at the mouth of the Adriatic Sea, near the coast of Albania, has an area of 431 square miles

officers and criminal experts, to assist General Leonardopulos, commanding the Fifth Army at Janina, near Albania, in the investigation of the crime, and in the pursuit and trial of the assassins.

A telegram from Janina stated that the murderers were believed to have escaped into Albania. The Albanian frontier is only three miles from the scene of the murder. The evidence indicated, according to Minister Alexandris's communiqué, that the crime was committed by Albanian bandits, who had recently been very active in that area. Moreover, General Tellini had become disliked by the Albanians, it was said, for his open favoritism to the scheme for the Italian assimilation of Albania.

Twenty-four hours after receiving this Greek note Premier Mussolini of Italy handed the Greek Government an ultimatum, the severity of which went far beyond the famous document addressed to Serbia by Austria-Hungary after the murder of Crown Prince Francis Ferdinand in Bosnia, on June 28, 1914, which led to the outbreak of the World War. In this ultimatum the Italian Government took it for granted that not only individual Greeks but Greek officials, acting on orders from Athens, were actually the murderers of the Italian mission. The Greek

contention was that no facts supporting this contention were furnished by the accusing Italian Government; that no statements of witnesses were joined to the ultimatum; that Greece was accused of an atrocious crime on mere assumption. The terms of the ultimatum were as follows:

Italy gave Greece twenty-four hours to accept the demands that the Janina slayers be punished with death; Greek ships must salute the Italian colors; the highest Greek military authorities must convey the nation's regrets to Rome; the Greek Cabinet must attend the funeral of the Janina victims; Italy's Military Attaché must help investigate the crime; Greece must pay an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire in five days. These drastic demands, based on the assumption of guilt on the part of Greece, were cited by the allied and American press, and by the press of neutral and other small countries as indicating that Mussolini purposefully demanded the impossible of Greece as a pretext for seizing Corfu and other coveted strategic points in the Adriatic. The 50,000,000 lire equal a little over \$2,000,000, or 120,000,000 drachmas, a large amount of money to raise in Greece at short notice. It is almost as much, for instance, as the American Red Cross spent in ten months to aid 1,200,000 refugees from Anatolia. The Greek Government had been

spending largely what money it could command for the sustenance of these refugees and for reclamation of waste lands on which they may be settled.

The Greek reply to the ultimatum, however, offered regrets, apologies, honorary salutes, acceptance (with reserve) of the Italian Attaché in the investigation of the crime, and (by way of indemnity) a just compensation of the families of the victims. It declared impossible, however, the demand for the payment of 50,000,000 lire in five days.

All these Greek counter-proposals Mussolini promptly rejected. He immediately ordered the bombardment and occupation of Corfu. This took place on Friday, Aug. 31. In a semi-official statement the Italian Government blamed the Greek authorities for making the bombardment "necessary" by refusing to hoist a white flag as requested. The bombardment lasted half an hour, in the course of which about fifteen Greek and Armenian refugees were killed, and many persons wounded.

Mussolini sent naval reinforcements and kept landing more Italian troops on Corfu through Sept. 4, until a full army corps was based on the island, with light artillery and every indication of intending a long occupation. Also, a fleet was ordered to Piræus. The Greeks removed their fleet to avoid a clash.

The small Greek islands of Paxos, Antipaxos and others of the Ionian group, in the vicinity of Corfu, were also occupied as strategic points by the Italian forces on Sept. 1. In Corfu, as in Cephallonia, Corinth, Oropos, Chalcis, Macedonia, and the islands of the Aegean, the Greek Government has been giving shelter to some 10,000 children orphaned by the recent Turkish conquest of Anatolia, half of them Armenians. The American Near Eastern Relief still continues to care for these orphans.

Immediately upon hearing of the bombardment of Corfu, Aug. 31, the Greek Government appealed to the League of Nations, under Article 15 of the League Covenant. The Greek plea was formally presented to the Council, Sept. 1, by M. Nicholas Politis, the Greek spokesman. The Council unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that, though it agreed to a short adjournment (until Sept. 4), so that an examination of the question might be made, it hoped that the two parties would refrain in the meantime from any act of a nature to aggravate the situation.

On Sept. 4 Mussolini issued a signed statement (which was published in the press all over the world), defying the League in these words:

"If the League of Nations persists in its intention to interfere in Italy's personal affair of honor with Greece, Italy may be forced to leave the League. I respect the aims of the League, but deny that there is anything in the pact providing

for intervention in such cases as the present, which touches the honor of Italy. The pact speaks only of 'danger of war.' There is no danger of war now. It is a question merely of the simple execution of justice. If an Englishman had been in my place he would have done the same thing. When French sailors were slain in Athens in 1916, France imposed similar severe conditions on Greece such as Italy imposes now. I shall hold Corfu until Greece obeys without qualification all of our demands. If Greece commits further outrages on Italian subjects, I shall commence repressive military measures immediately."

On the same day, the delegate of the Greek Government, M. Nicholas Politis, proposed to the League Council that for the settlement of the dispute between his country and Italy the Council should appoint one or more neutral representatives for the following purposes:

1. To superintend in Greece the judicial inquiry already begun by the Greek authorities, and also the trial of those held responsible for the murder of the Italian officers of the Albanian Boundary Commission;

2. To assist in the work of a commission, the appointment of which had been proposed by the Greek Government, through the Council of Ambassadors, to investigate, both in Albania and in Greece, the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the crime;

3. To instruct a commission composed of three high judicial authorities—one Greek, one Italian, and one neutral (for example, the President of the Swiss Federal Tribunal or the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice)—to meet as soon as possible in Geneva to settle the amount of indemnities that Greece should pay the families of the victims;

4. To agree that the Greek Government forthwith deposit in a Swiss bank 50,000,000 lire as a guarantee for the immediate payment of whatever indemnities may be decided upon.

Signor Salandra, head of the Italian delegation, objected to M. Politis's embarking upon a controversy in the course of a simple question whether the Council should grant a postponement, and said that he would have to reply if M. Politis continued. At the suggestion of Lord Robert Cecil, M. Politis was allowed to submit his proposals in writing. In the circumstances the Council could not take them up immediately, and discussion of them was put off until the morrow's meeting.

At the morrow's meeting, Sept. 5, called to hear Signor Salandra's statement of the Italian attitude, Signor Salandra amplified Mussolini's declaration that the League of Nations must not intervene. He called attention to the fact that the Council of Ambassadors was dealing with the case, that the Albanian Boundary Commission had been working under the Council of Ambassa-



A view of the City of Corfu on the island of the same name, which was known in ancient times as Corcyra. The island is the most northerly and the largest of the Ionian Islands. It was held by the British from 1815 to 1864, when it was ceded to the Kingdom of the Greeks

dors' orders, and that the Council of Ambassadors, on Aug. 30, had ordered Greece immediately to begin investigation of the Janina crime. He concluded with the phrase: "The Italian Government expresses its irrevocable opinion that the Council should not proceed on the demand formulated by Greece."

In an unmistakable manner, however, Lord Robert Cecil, backed by representatives of all the small powers, and by most, if not all, of the great powers that are members of the League of Nations, showed that they were determined to stand firm for the League and the Covenant, in the face of Premier Mussolini's refusal to recognize the authority of the League to intervene in the Greco-Italian dispute.

The next day's meeting of the League Council consisted mainly of conversations among the delegates. All the members in turn, except France and Brazil, pronounced their firm belief and that of their Governments that they were competent. Signor Salandra, in the name of the Italian Government, maintained his negative. France sought to avoid making an issue of the League's competence by passing the responsibility for the Greco-

Italian settlement on to the Conference of Ambassadors.

Viscount Ishii, who presided, read a communiqué from the Conference of Ambassadors and suggested that a reply be sent from the League Council.

These suggestions were sent, with minutes of that day's meeting of the League Council, to the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, in the face of Signor Salandra's objections. Later it was announced that Premier Mussolini had agreed to accept the Ambassadors as arbiters.

The next day, Sept. 7, the Council of Ambassadors reached a decision which satisfied Italy with regard to terms for Greece. The note it sent to Athens embodied nearly the same terms as Italy's original demands. The Conference of Ambassadors accepted all the major Italian demands, except the sentence of death for the perpetrators of the Janina massacre. Instead of asking for immediate payment to Italy of 50,000,000 lire indemnity, the conference asked that Greece deposit in a bank 50,000,000 lire as a guarantee of payment of a sum to be assessed after an inquiry into all the particulars and circumstances

of the murder of the Italian officers. As to the inquiry into the murder, the conference demanded that it be conducted by allied officers under the chairmanship of the Japanese delegate. These terms were accepted by both Italy and Greece.

The Greek Government arrested eight persons Sept. 11, suspected of the Janina murders.

The date for the evacuation of Corfu by Italy seemed definitely settled at the Sept. 13 meeting of the Council of Ambassadors. The Italians

agreed to leave the Greek islands on a fixed date before Oct. 1. After the meeting the Council issued the following statement:

"The Council of Ambassadors has adopted a solution which is considered to be of such a nature as to put an end to the situation created by the assassination of the Italian members of the allied commission. The solution, which was transmitted immediately to Athens, is also being communicated to the Council of the League of Nations."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION

THE fourth annual Assembly of the League of Nations began its sessions at Geneva on Sept. 3. It was expected that fifty-two States would be represented. Dr. Cosmo de la Torriente, Chairman of the Cuban delegation, was elected President. Coincidentally with the election came the announcement of Dr. Torriente's appointment as Cuban Minister to Washington. The consideration of the reports of the various commissions of experts appointed by the Council under votes of the previous Assembly was begun by the Council in a preliminary meeting on Aug. 31. Among the subjects on which commissions have been working are disarmament, finance and economics, international communication and transit, international co-operation in the maintenance of health and the prevention of epidemics, the protection of women and children, the opium traffic, and intellectual co-operation. Reports were also received on the condition of colonies or other possessions administered under League mandates. American resolutions for the regulation of the opium traffic, supported by a

committee headed by Representative Stephen G. Porter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs in the last Congress, were also on the agenda.

The crisis in the relations between Italy and Greece, an account of which is given elsewhere, had become acute before either the Council or the Assembly had met, and throughout the early part of the sessions the controversy overshadowed all other League interests. The Greek request for intervention, based upon Articles XIII. and XV. of the Covenant, was discussed in a preliminary way before the Council on Sept. 1 by Signor Antonio Salandra (Italy) and M. Nicholas Politis (Greece). The question was again argued, this time at length, on Sept. 5. In the meantime Italy had refused to admit intervention by the League, and an intimation had been given by Premier Mussolini that Italy would withdraw from the League if intervention were pressed. Consideration of the question was temporarily dropped when the action of the Council of Ambassadors at Paris became known, and the meeting of the



Harris & Ewing from Paul Thompson

The Five-Power Naval Treaty and the Four-Power Pacific Treaty, which were concluded at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921, became effective on Aug. 17, 1923, when ratifications were exchanged at the State Department in Washington. This photograph shows the representatives of the five nations who signed the final documents on that occasion (from left to right round the table): Augusto Rosso (Italy), H. G. Chilton (Great Britain), Charles Evans Hughes (United States), André de la Boulaye (France), and Masanao Hanihara (Japan)

Assembly was postponed in order to prevent premature discussion in that body.

Sharp differences of opinion developed over a treaty drafted by the Commission on Disarmament. The preamble of the proposed treaty declared that the treaty was intended to facilitate the enforcement of Article X. of the Covenant regarding the maintenance of the territorial integrity of member States, and to secure a reduction of armament to the lowest point consistent with national safety. The first article branded aggressive war as an international crime, and bound the contracting powers in an agreement to refrain from it. The treaty further bound the signatory powers to reduce their armaments in accordance with such general plan as the Council should unanimously adopt, and to render assistance, individually or collectively, to any signatory power which the Council, by unanimous vote, should decide had been attacked, the vote of the aggressor State being excluded. Provision was further made for defensive agreements between two or more States, such agreements to be valid

only when approved by the Council, and the agreements themselves to be published. The criticism of the proposed treaty, urged particularly by delegates from Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands, was to the effect that guarantees outweighed disarmament, and that no precise plan of disarmament was offered.

Ireland was admitted to the League on Sept. 10, but action upon the application of Abyssinia was halted because of the continuance of serfdom in that country. The results of financial reconstruction in Austria under League auspices were elaborately reviewed. A congress representing 600,000 Thracian refugees in Bulgaria appealed to the League for the extension to the exiles of the benefit of treaty provisions relating to the protection of minorities, alleging that they were prevented from returning to their former homes by the occupation of the regions by hostile nationalities. A radical reduction of the budget of the League, called for at the last session of the French Parliament, was proposed by the French delegation on Sept. 11.

DECISIONS OF THE WORLD COURT

TWO important decisions have been rendered by the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. In the case of the British steamer *Wimbledon*, which was refused passage through the Kiel Canal by the German authorities while en route to Danzig with a cargo of munitions, the Court on Aug. 17 ruled against the German contention that the canal was to be regarded as subject to German neutrality law, and that neutrality would be infringed by the transportation of munitions destined for Poland because the definitive treaty of peace between Poland and Russia has not yet been ratified. The Court held, in effect,

that under the Treaty of Versailles the canal had ceased to be an inland waterway, the use of which by other powers could be controlled by Germany.

The contention of Germany was upheld, on the other hand, on Sept. 11, in a decision regarding the rights of certain German inhabitants of Poland. The Court held that the Polish law of July 14, 1920, under which certain contracts for the acquisition of land were set aside and the occupants of the lands expelled, was intended to affect a racial minority in Poland, and that private rights, not being affected by changes of sovereignty, came under the protection afforded by the so-called minorities treaties.

THE UNITED STATES

IT was stated at the White House on Aug. 14, following the first meeting of President Coolidge with his Cabinet, that the policies of the Harding Administration would in general be those followed by President Coolidge. In the natural course of events, it was said, certain modifications of policy might become necessary, but such modifications were not now in contemplation. Such modifications, it was emphasized, would be such as might have arisen had President Harding lived to complete his term in the White House.

Although the White House spokesman did not mention the World Court, his statement was so sweeping as to the attitude of the new Administration that by no twist or turn could what was said be interpreted as even a suggestion of opposition to the World Court program as advocated by the late President.

As to the European reparations problem, it was stated that the policy of the new Administration was completely outlined by Secretary Hughes at New Haven in December. Speaking as the spokesman of the Harding Administration, Mr. Hughes expressed an earnest hope for the composition of the troubles of Europe, and suggested a commission of economic and financial experts to work out a solution of the reparations tangle.

The statement as to the Government's attitude toward Europe generally, and the matter of German reparations in particular, was considered significant in view of the existing critical European situation. The Coolidge Administration has no specific proposal to make to the Allies or to Germany at this time, but is ready to do anything within its power, short of becoming in-

volved in the situation, to aid in dissipating the chaos that now prevails in Europe.

One of the early acts of the new Administration was the appointment on Aug. 14 of former Representative Campbell B. Slep of Virginia to the office of Secretary to the President.

Mr. Slep has been active in Republican Party politics, not only in his own State, but nationally, and especially in connection with the progress of the party in the South. He is a member of the National Committee, and was consulted by President Harding in the development of the latter's plans for upbuilding the party in the Southern States.

It had been generally expected that the appointment would go to Edward T. Clark, who has been Secretary to the Vice President, and was formerly Secretary to Senator Lodge. Mr. Clark, however, it was learned, would remain as private secretary to President Coolidge.

SEVEN DESTROYERS WRECKED

Treachery of the sea and air was the main

factor in the wrecking of seven destroyers of the Pacific Fleet which on Sept. 8 pitched at twenty knots on to the jagged rocks at La Honda, seventy-five miles north of Santa Barbara, Cal. Twenty-two lives and seven warships paid the toll. The doomed vessels were the Delphy, Chauncey, Young, Woodbury, Fuller, Lee and Nicholas.

Four hours previously the Pacific Mail Liner Cuba had piled up on San Miguel Island, thirty-five miles away, and the air was filled with radio messages telling of her plight and directing the work of rescue.

In the meantime Destroyer Squadron 11 of the fleet was cruising south in a heavy fog, nineteen clean-cut craft, breasting a choppy sea in column formation and steering behind their leader, the Delphy, by dead reckoning and wireless compass directions from shore. The shore directions are said to have become garbled with the flood of air messages on the Cuba wreck and the speedy destroyer squadron was left to the fog. Cross-currents in the sea also swept the flotilla out of



Wide World

The Permanent World Court in session at The Hague, with a German Judge, Professor Walter Schucking (at the extreme left), on the bench for the first time

its course twenty miles from the ocean lane they believed they were following.

MAIL PLANE BEATS ALL RECORDS

All records for stop and non-stop flights across the continent were broken on Aug. 23 when Pilot Wesley L. Smith reached Curtiss Field, near Mineola, L. I., at 11:14 (Eastern Standard Time), completing a relay mail flight from San Francisco in 26 hours and 14 minutes. The previous coast-to-coast time record was established by Lieutenants Oakley G. Kelly and John A. Macready in a non-stop flight from New York to San Diego, Cal., last May, covering the 2,700-mile airway in 26 hours and 50 minutes.

The time record captured by the air mail was a more remarkable achievement from the fact that stops were made en route and the mail pilots did not have the advantage of favoring winds in making the flight eastward instead of westward.

The entire four days' series of test flights arranged by the air mail over the transcontinental night-and-day route was eminently satisfactory to the Post Office Department. It demonstrated that on a permanent schedule the trip between coast and coast could be counted on to average less than thirty hours.

Off Cape Hatteras on Sept. 5 the Army Air Service successfully attacked the obsolete battleships New Jersey and Virginia with Martin bombing planes. The Virginia was sunk by 1,100-pound bombs in less than half an hour. The New Jersey, although bombed as early as 8:52 o'clock in the morning, was not sent to the bottom until mid-afternoon.

HALF MILLION ALIENS IN 1922

During the last fiscal year 522,919 immigrants were admitted into this country, according to statistics made public on Aug. 20 by the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor.

In contrast, 81,450 aliens emigrated from the United States during the same period. Of those coming in, 307,522 were men and 215,667 were women, while of those departing 54,752 were men and 26,698 were women.

Reports by the bureau show that the total number of persons coming to this country was 1,002,496, made up of the 522,919 aliens, 150,487 non-immigrant aliens, or, in other words, those temporarily admitted, 308,471 citizens of the United States and 20,619 aliens who were debarred.

In the fiscal year, 471,187 persons sailed from American ports, including the 81,450 emigrant aliens and 119,136 non-emigrant aliens. Within the six months ended June 30, there was a total movement to the United States of 459,831 persons, of whom 51,187 were immigrant and 11,652

debarred aliens, and a total departure of 205,885, of which 26,311 were emigrant aliens.

Admitted during the preceding fiscal year were 309,556 immigrants and 122,949 non-immigrants, a total of 432,505, as compared to 522,919 immigrants and 150,487 non-immigrants, a total of 673,406, during the past fiscal year. In the fiscal year 1922, 198,712 emigrants and 146,672 non-emigrants departed, a total of 345,384, as compared with 81,450 emigrants and 119,136 non-emigrants, a total departure of 200,586, in the last fiscal year.

The largest number of aliens admitted were Germans, 65,543. Others in large numbers were Mexicans, 62,709; English, 60,524; Hebrews, 49,719; South Italians, 39,226; Scotch, 38,627; Scandinavians, 37,630; French, 34,371; Irish, 30,386; Polish, 13,210. The larger numbers of departures were South Italians, 21,020; English, 7,979; Polish, 5,278; Chinese, 3,788; Spanish, 3,193; Greek, 3,060.

COAL MINERS AND OPERATORS AGREE

The threatened labor troubles in the anthracite coal mines that had caused business circles and the general public such great uneasiness were averted, largely through the efforts of Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, who had been conferring for some days with both miners and operators and seeking to bring about a compromise. All points in dispute were settled on Sept. 8 practically on the basis of the Governor's suggestions. The agreement gave the miners a 10 per cent. wage increase, the eight-hour day, collective bargaining and revision of wage rates and schedules. Provision was made for a thorough study of all wage scales before the expiration of the contract on Aug. 31, 1925. The miners gave up their demands for the check-off of union dues and the operators dropped their demand for arbitration. The strike in the meantime had been called as scheduled on Sept. 1, but at the time of writing it seemed probable that mining would be resumed in accordance with the new contract on or before Sept. 20. Immediately after the conclusion of the contract, Governor Pinchot wired to the Governors of other States suggesting a conference in order to prevent any "gouging" of consumers because of the added wages to be paid the men. It was estimated that the cost of mining would be increased to the extent of 60 cents a ton. At least 10 cents of this, Governor Pinchot suggested, should be absorbed by the operators, while the balance of the increase might be provided for by a reduction in transportation tariffs.

CONVICTIONS IN LIQUOR CASES

Palmer Canfield, Federal Prohibition Director for New York State, on Aug. 23 gave out figures

supplied by Colonel William Hayward, United States District Attorney, on the number of convictions obtained for dry law violations. According to Mr. Canfield 1,065 convictions were obtained in the 1,168 cases which have been terminated. His statistics were for the Southern District of the State, which includes Manhattan, the Bronx and the eleven counties along the Hudson between New York and Albany.

Mr. Canfield said that the main difficulty in the prosecution of criminal cases under the Prohibition act was inability to have sufficient terms of court devoted to this class of prosecution.

The seizure of the British rum-runner Marion Mosher twelve miles off Fire Island, L. I., on July 27, last year, when it was landing a cargo of liquor on an American motor boat, was upheld on Aug. 14 by Federal Judge Joseph W. Woodrough in the Federal District Court in Brooklyn. In a decision of possibly far-reaching importance in the Government's campaign against foreign rum-runners, the Court held that vessels flying alien flags and hovering off the coast for the known purpose of smuggling liquor ashore might be seized justifiably, even outside the three-mile limit.

In contesting the suit the surety company argued that the Court was without jurisdiction to hear the suit, as the seizure had taken place outside the three-mile limit. In his opinion Judge Woodrough said:

"When a British vessel hovers around the American coast, although three miles from shore, with the intent to violate the laws, and is caught in the act of smuggling or attempting to smuggle intoxicating liquors, and it shows that it is having contact with the shore, its seizure, though of foreign registry and though outside the three-mile limit, is justified."

The decision again brought up the possibility of the United States Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of the century-old "hovering act," which was aimed primarily at merchandise smugglers. The "hovering statute" had been practically a dead letter until the Prohibition act went into effect. The right of the United States to invoke this law, which, placed again in the tariff law last year, gave the Customs Department jurisdiction to the twelve-mile limit, has been disputed by foreign nations.

REVENUE RECEIPTS DROP

The preliminary statement of internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1923, made public Sept. 2, showed that the total of such revenue from all sources was \$2,621,745,227.57, as compared with \$3,197,451,083 in the previous year. The Government collected \$4,595,357,061.95 in 1921, when the war revenue laws were in full effect.

The decrease in revenue from 1921, when high

rates and prosperity prevailed, as compared with 1923, when the law had been amended and a slight business depression existed, amounted to \$1,973,611,833.98. The decrease in 1923 from the previous year was \$575,705,855.43.

While the decrease in revenues has been caused to some extent by less prosperous times, the greatest cause is due to the changed laws, which were in full effect in the fiscal year 1923, but had not been fully carried into effect in the fiscal year 1922, since some of the taxes, such as transportation, insurance and excise, were collected in part of that period.

ABYSSINIA

Following a formal application for admission to the League of Nations forwarded by the Government of Abyssinia to the Assembly meeting at Geneva, a mission headed by Dajazmack Mado, and accompanied by M. de Bellefonds, legal adviser to the Government, left Addis Abbaba on Aug. 13 for Geneva to support the petition. Admission was postponed on the ground of the prevalence of slavery in Abyssinia.

The Regent, referring to a previous statement on the subject of slavery, wished it to be understood that he drew a distinction between the slave trade and slave-holding. While willing to co-operate in suppressing the former, subject to the absolute internal independence of Abyssinia, he regarded slave-holding as practiced in his country as mild in form, and did not consider the time or social conditions ripe for its abolition.

ARGENTINA

The newspapers have commented in various ways upon the interpretation of the recent utterances of Dr. Etanislao Zeballos, formerly Secretary of Foreign Relations, by certain journalistic organizations. Dr. Zeballos simply gave voice to the protests and resentment caused in Argentina by the fact that a naval mission had been sent from the United States to Brazil to help in the reorganization of the navy and coast defenses. In the understanding of Dr. Zeballos, to these military preparations of Brazil was due the failure of the limitations of armaments, proposal advanced by Chile during the course of the recent Pan-American Conference.

President Alvear has presented to Congress a proposal to reform the Immigration law, which is now forty-seven years old. The changes brought about by the general progress of the country, the increase of its population, and of its wealth and other factors, make it imperative that some changes should be introduced in the regulations for the admission of immigrants. The case of the United States is cited as an example. One of the principal clauses of the proposed law

provides for the temporary admission of immigrants, on probation, the permit to land to be revoked and the applicant returned to his native country in case he should prove unfit or undesirable.

The opening of bids for the loan of 150,000,000 pesos recently authorized by Congress has been postponed by the Government. An operation involving \$50,000,000 is to be effected now, for the purpose of refunding short-term obligations contracted for with American bankers.

AUSTRALIA

In his budget speech in the House of Representatives on July 26, Earle Page, the Treasurer, stated that the gross national debt was reduced last year by £5,000,000, and was now £411,000,000, of which £362,000,000 was war debt. The total public debts of all States amounted to £532,000,000.

The Senate on Aug. 24 rejected by 19 votes to 13 the Government's proposal to build a temporary Parliament House at Canberra.

AUSTRIA

Sir William Acworth, a British railway expert, after studying the situation in Austria, reports that Vienna is regaining her position as a commercial centre for the Danube Basin and South-east Europe, and is again establishing herself as an exchange centre for the whole of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as the Balkan territories. He predicts that, with popular support, the railway system will be fully solvent in about two years.

Exports for the first half of 1923 amounted to 427,000,000 gold crowns and imports to 704,000,000. This adverse trade balance, however, is a decrease of more than 25 per cent. as compared with last year. Prices have stopped falling, the commodities index for August being 94.7, against 100 in September, 1922. Interest on the international loan, whose security is customs receipts and the tobacco monopoly, was easily earned, 78,500,000 gold crowns more than was expected for the whole year having been collected in the first six months of 1923.

The Vienna municipality on Sept. 12 announced its intention of building 25,000 apartments and a proportionate number of stores and offices during the next five years at an annual outlay of about \$6,000,000.

BOLIVIA

An end was put to the conferences between the special commissioners of the Bolivian Government in New York, Messrs. Mandieta and Saenz, and the representatives of the Guaranty Trust and

Stieffel, Nicholas of St. Louis for the revision of the terms of the \$24,000,000 loan obtained from them by this country. The results of the meetings have not been disclosed.

BRAZIL

A considerable gain is registered in the amount of products exported during the fiscal year ended in June. The improvement is more noticeable when the volume of products alone is considered, inasmuch as the depreciation of Brazilian money would make any comparison of values misleading. The increase in exports over the year 1913 has been 86 per cent.

In the State of Minas Geraes, District of Pecanna, a huge deposit of iron ore has been found in a tract of unreclaimed land.

The report presented by Representative Americo Brazil to the Congressional Committee on Naval Affairs says in part: "In 1910 the naval situation of Brazil was satisfactory, but later on several causes hindered the full execution of the program of Admiral Alencar. Without a military port, with insufficient navy yards and with the works on the Island of Cobras having been discontinued, Brazil was left behind while her neighbors, Argentina and Chile, were improving their naval positions all the time, introducing, besides, conscription for naval personnel. The perfect cordiality existing among the South American countries has never permitted the harboring of suspicions as to the purposes of our neighbors in perfecting their defenses, but it is a matter of common wisdom that Brazil should improve her position so as not to fall victim to the difficulties that assailed her at the outset of the crisis of 1914."

A loan of about half a million dollars has been granted by the Government to the Chemical Products Company of Brazil for the purpose of establishing a plant for the production of caustic soda at home.

BRITISH WEST INDIES

Jamaica, through the Merchants' Exchange, has asked the British Colonial Office to bring up at the coming Imperial Conference the question of high tariffs, imposed by Great Britain upon the island's chief articles of export, with a view to a reduction of the duty. Such tariffs were declared to be one of the causes of the lack of prosperity in Jamaica.

Viscount Burnham, who recently made a tour of the West Indies, reported to the House of Lords on Aug. 17 that communications with the West Indies were deplorable as to shipping, telegraph and news service. Nearly all the news in the West Indian papers was supplied from America. He asked that the subject be examined by

the Imperial Conference. The Duke of Devonshire replied that he was quite convinced that the loyalty of the colonies could not be broken by any commercial or industrial influence. He thought it obvious that the subject of maritime and wireless communications would receive the fullest attention of the Imperial Conference.

BULGARIA

A sequel to the assassination of Stambulisky, the Bulgarian Premier, occurred in Prague on Aug. 26 when M. Daskaloff, the former Bulgarian Minister to Czechoslovakia, was shot and killed by Atanas Nikoloff while walking with a friend, who was slightly injured by one of the three shots fired. When Stambulisky was overthrown the new Government at Sofia asked the Czechs to extradite Daskaloff, but the request was never complied with. The murdered man was an intimate friend of Stambulisky. He refused to recognize the Tsankoff Government or to hand over the affairs of the legation to his successor, and was evidently trying to organize a counter-revolution. Nikoloff is a young Bulgarian of 26 who wished to thwart Daskaloff's plans.

Eleven members of the Stambulisky Cabinet are to be tried on capital charges including bribery, murder and incitement to riot. They are accused of conspiring with the National Agrarian League against the State. It has been said that the position of a Bulgarian Cabinet Minister is the most dangerous in the world. Of the eighty-six who have held office since 1911 five have been killed, sixty-four imprisoned and eight exiled. Only nine passed through unscathed.

The trial of eighty-five Communists on a charge of conspiring to set up an Agrarian republic in Bulgaria with the support of the Moscow Communists was closed on Aug. 11. Asen Halacheff, the ringleader, and three others were sentenced to death, two got life imprisonment and the other seventy-nine shorter terms. A number of Communist leaders were arrested and the Communist clubs in Sofia closed on Sept. 13.

Tchitcherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, protested to Bulgaria against the persecution of Russians, demanded apology and compensation for alleged excesses and threatened reprisals on Bulgarian subjects in Russia.

CANADA

J. S. Woodsworth, member for Central Winnipeg in the Dominion House of Commons, announces that the proposal of Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labor Party, to hold a British labor conference next year, has developed into a plan for a labor political organization for the whole empire. The plan is now being considered by the Canadian labor organizations.

Complaints of injustice made by the Six Nations (Indians) against the Dominion Government were repudiated by the Secretary of the High Commissioner's Department in London on Aug. 14 as chiefly the agitation by a few reactionaries, and kept alive by interested parties in Canada and the United States. He added that a Commissioner had been appointed to investigate conditions on the Indian reserve.

In an address before the Canadian Bar Association at Montreal on "The Pathway of Peace," United States Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes said: "All things are possible if nations are willing to be just to each other." Mr. Hughes suggested the creation of a "permanent body of our most distinguished citizens" to act as a commission for the United States and Canada.

Two fires responsible for the loss of eleven lives and over \$4,000,000 worth of property occurred at Montreal on Aug. 12, and at Huntsville on Aug. 20 respectively.

Figures given out in Montreal on Aug. 13 showed that for the fiscal year ending June 30 the operations of the Quebec Liquor act brought the Province a revenue of \$4,581,952.

In a test case taken in Toronto against the act of the last Ontario Legislature, designed to prohibit the publication of race track betting odds, Judge Denton, Senior Magistrate of Toronto, declared the act to be unconstitutional.

CENTRAL AMERICA

GUATEMALA—A group of Belgian financiers has obtained concessions for the establishment of an electrical tramway system and plants for the distribution of electrical energy in Guatemala City.

HONDURAS—The Honduran Government has appointed a commission of military engineers to purchase French airplanes for an air mail service.

NICARAGUA—President Chamorro of Nicaragua, replying to an interpellation, denied that the United States was trying to influence the coming presidential elections in that country.

CHILE

A postponement has been agreed upon between the representation of Peru and Chile of the presentation before the President of the United States as arbiter, of their conflicting claims to the territories of Tacna and Arica. The new date fixed by common agreement is Nov. 13, instead of Sept. 13, the date on which the six months' period agreed upon in the Washington convention expired. After the presentation of their cases, both parties will have three months to prepare their respective objections to their opponent's arguments.

A group of three delegates, presided over by

Mr. Plack of Philadelphia, has been sent by the United States to the second Pan-American Conference of Architecture, to be held in Santiago from Sept. 10 to Sept. 20. It is expected that the meeting of architects of all America will afford an opportunity for the improvement of building construction in the different countries.

The group of Latin-American nations having representatives in the League of Nations has presented "energetic protests" to the non-aggression pact recently introduced for discussion before the League Council.

CHINA

Despite the assertions of the Military Governors of Chekiang and Kiangsu that they would maintain peace, the situation in China has remained critical throughout the month.

Throughout August there was a succession of bandit raids and outrages, beginning with the attack on the American steamer *Alice Dollar* at Foochow, Aug. 12, followed by the looting of Tsaoshih, sixty miles from Hankow, Aug. 16, when bandits set fire to the London Mission Hospital, the foreign quarters and the Roman Catholic Church. The two priests were reported to have escaped, disguised in Chinese clothes. The local garrison of 120 men fought until it lost eight men and then marched out of town. Bandits set fire to the Italian Catholic Church at Tzeho, in Hupeh Province, Aug. 24. The Italian Minister made a vigorous protest, declaring that the Chinese Government would be held responsible and demanding an indemnity in proportion to the gravity of the loss. The Rev. W. A. White-side and the Rev. F. G. Watt, English Protestant missionaries, were murdered Aug. 14, while traveling in Szechuan Province, near the border of Tibet.

Some native newspapers have been conducting a violent campaign against the British plan of policing the railways. They allege that the English seized the occasion of the Lincheng outrage to carry out their purpose of controlling Chinese railways. The British, American, French and Japanese Ministers, on Aug. 16, addressed a joint protest to the Chinese Government, citing the Washington resolution of Feb. 4, 1922, against the administration of the land department of the Chinese Eastern Railway by the Chinese authorities. The Harbin Soviet agent also protested against this Chinese action as infringing on Russian rights in the railway.

In response to proposals by diplomats for more adequate protection of railways, the Minister of Communication announced, Aug. 27, the formation of a bureau for organizing and training railway police to be under the direction of the Vice Minister of Communications. The Diplomatic Corps demanded such provision as a result of the outrage of the Suchow train bandits.

The Chinese Government, replying Aug. 31, to the note of the Diplomatic Corps regarding the Lincheng holdup last May, rejected all demands for satisfaction contained in the note and merely admitted responsibility for reasonable compensation for the victims' losses. The reply declared that the Lincheng attack was an act of local bandits, that it implied no organized movement against foreigners, and that therefore the Government could not recognize claims for indemnity.

In the great typhoon disaster of Aug. 19 more than 100 persons were drowned, 100 others were killed and injured ashore, and about fifty junks and sampans were capsized at Macao. Much havoc was wrought at Hongkong. The shipping losses included the United States freighter *Lake Farrar*, a British submarine, and three British, one French, two Japanese and eight Chinese merchantmen. Other losses of lives and shipping are yet to be estimated. Much damage was done



International

FENG YU-HSIANG

Known as the Christian General of China. He commands the army which protects Peking. His troops are Christian converts who abstain from drinking, smoking and loose living

all along the shore. European houses at Kowloon were unroofed. Thoroughfares were blocked by windfalls of great trees, and persons were entombed under collapsed houses. The typhoon was the worst recorded since 1906.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the belligerent Southern Constitutional leader, telegraphed, Sept. 6, to Sir Robert Ho Tung, a prominent citizen of Hong-kong, that he (Dr. Sun) was prepared to meet other Chinese leaders at a proposed conference for the settlement of the political differences dividing the country.

The latest campaign of Generals Chen Ching-ming and Wu Pei-fu, the Northern Army leaders ousted by Dr. Sun from Canton last Spring, has been directed against Amoy, held by Dr. Sun's troops.

The Overseas Trade Department of the British Foreign Office recently reported that groups controlled by Herman Stinnes and the Stinnes Company are getting control of extensive resources in coal, iron and oil in China. A Stinnes agent has been negotiating for littoral rights at Pukow. Although the Chinese have agreed to sell these rights, the matter is in abeyance, because the German representative wishes to construct a light railroad from the foreshore to coal deposits near Pukow. The Stinnes financiers are supposed to have invested about \$2,500,000 in coal concessions.

The Chinese Government aims to abolish the worst evils of child and female labor by decreeing the adoption of a ten-hour day. In factories employing more than 100 workers, the application of this limitation has gone into effect. An eight-hour day was decreed for workers under 17 years old. Rest periods of two days a month for adult workers, and three days in the month for workers under 17 and for female workers under 18 years of age have also been provided for.

CUBA

A fresh dispute arose between American citizens and Cuba when the House of Representatives in Havana on Aug. 10, after an all night session, passed by a vote of 88 to 9 the Tarafa bill, which provides for the consolidation of all important railroads and virtually closes by heavy taxation forty-seven small ports through which a large part of Cuba's sugar was shipped. The sponsor of the bill, Colonel José M. Tarafa, is principal stockholder in the Northern Cuba Railroad, and the bill would force sugar men to use his railroad to Havana instead of shipping their product across country to the little ports which dot the north coast, whence they had been taken for export by small steamers. Private docks were forbidden unless the material had been hauled over Colonel Tarafa's railroad.

The sugar companies, many of which are owned by American interests, protested both in Havana

and Washington against the bill as confiscatory. The State Department asked the Cuban Government to delay action on the bill. Both American and Cuban sugar interests opposed the bill, but the railway interests favored the merger on the ground of sound economics. Colonel Tarafa came to the United States and conferred with Secretary Hughes, Ambassador Crowder and representatives of the opposing interests. As a result a compromise was reached by which imports that affect the sugar industry will be permitted by way of the private ports, and exports will not be hindered or taxed. Colonel Tarafa returned to Cuba to rewrite the bill.

In opposition to the prevailing graft the Veterans and Patriots' Association of Cuba was organized and General Carlos Garcia Velez was elected President with the expectation that he would resign his post as Cuban Minister to Great Britain. General Velez, who had returned to Havana, said that the new organization would work for good government and righteous legislation. Its demands include abolition of the national lottery, woman suffrage and payment of pensions long overdue to veterans. The association opposed the Tarafa Railroad bill and the licensing of gambling houses. Owing to its activities a mild form of censorship was instituted in Cuba on Aug. 29, but was quickly revoked.

President Zayas on Aug. 16 sent to Congress a message favoring tariff revision with an elastic proviso empowering the President to increase or reduce the tariff up to 30 per cent. either way. On Aug. 30 he signed a bill raising the Cuban Legation in Washington to the status of an Embassy.

Dr. Celso Cuellar del Rio, son-in-law of President Zayas, arrived in Washington on Sept. 6 on a special mission. He presented to the Federal Reserve Board a statement on the financial and economic condition of Cuba. He stated that the balance in the Cuban Treasury was \$25,000,000, and the monthly revenue \$10,000,000, and that a surplus of \$40,000,000 was expected by the end of the year. Expenditures amount to about \$61,000,000 annually. Cuba is the largest sugar-producing country in the world, he said, and yet not more than 12 per cent. of the land is under cultivation.

President Zayas on Aug. 16 signed a decree authorizing payment of \$7,000,000, balance of a loan of \$10,000,000 from the United States negotiated during the war. Payment was completed on Aug. 22, Cuba thus being the first nation to discharge its war debt to the United States.

Dr. Cosme de la Torriente, for more than a quarter of a century a prominent Cuban statesman, was named first Ambassador to the United States on Sept. 1, succeeding the Minister, Dr. Carlos de Cespedes. Two days later Dr. de la Torriente was elected President of the League of Nations at Geneva by a vote of 24 countries

against 19 given for Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland.

Cuba recognized the Obregon Government in Mexico on Aug. 31, and next day named Dr. Antoni Martin Rivero as Minister to Mexico.

By Presidential decree Cuba on Aug. 13 returned to 2-cent letter postage from the 3-cent rate which had been established many months.

About 20 per cent. of the \$50,000,000 Cuban loan, offered last January, remained unmarketed on the expiration of the syndicate compact on Sept. 13 and had to be taken by the underwriting bankers.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The foreign trade of Czechoslovakia continues to grow and the favorable balance with it. Exports for the first half of 1923 were 5,618,000,000 Czech crowns, as compared with imports amounting to 4,071,000,000 crowns. The Cabinet proposes to initiate a freer trade policy with the object of increasing the export of manufactures, which has fallen from 15 per cent. in 1920 to 9 per cent. this year.

Carl Uhlig, the German economist, shows that Czechoslovakia is losing her national position as an exporter of finished goods; her surplus of exports is chiefly in fuel and raw materials. The recent reduction of the coal tax is the first step toward encouraging manufacturers.

The Czech crown has been practically stabilized at about 3 cents and fluctuates less than the English pound sterling. This has been accomplished, most Czechs believe, by the capital levy tax, which was instituted a few weeks after the establishment of the republic. The tax is levied upon all property in Czech territory, and on all foreign securities owned by Czechoslovak citizens resident in the country on March 1, 1919.

DAGHESTAN

A threat of famine, necessitating Government relief measures for the entire 1,000,000 population of Daghestan, was due to six weeks of rain and hail storms, followed by heavy snow, which not only ruined the crops in the mountainous districts but completely flooded the valleys.

DENMARK

The twenty-first conference of the Interparliamentary Union opened in Copenhagen Aug. 15 and closed Aug. 19, with 800 delegates. The questions debated included colonial mandates, Parliamentary control of foreign policies, disarmament and national religious minorities. Permanent interparliamentary commissions were appointed to study each of these questions.

The International Anti-Alcoholic Congress met in Copenhagen immediately after the Interparlia-

mentary Union. Though the debates showed that the absolute prohibitionists were well represented, other shades of opinion were in evidence, the congress comprising all factions desirous of fighting excessive drinking. Former Representative Andrew J. Volstead, author of the American Prohibition Enforcement law, received an ovation when he addressed the Congress in Danish, Aug. 21. He said, among other things, that if the United States spent proportionately on liquor what certain other countries did it would mean an annual expenditure of about \$5,000,000,000. He added, however, that home-brewed beer and wine should be allowed. Professor Warming of the University of Copenhagen, in summing up his impressions of a four months' visit to the United States, said that the prohibition of all alcoholic drinks was unwarranted. Certain American delegates denounced Professor Warming's views as those of a tourist. Professor Harald Westergaard, a prominent Danish statistician, declared that there was "hardly any difference between moderate drinkers and total abstainers." Special meetings discussed measures to combat the use of tobacco.

The leading members of the Soviet Russian commercial delegation of fifteen persons, headed by M. Cesar Hein, arrived in Copenhagen the morning of Aug. 27, and were received at the station by representatives of the Danish Foreign Office and the Danish Council of Industries. M. Hein had induced the Danish officials to state that his delegation would arrive the day before, in order that he might avoid a demonstration of several hundred Danish Communists, who therefore gathered in vain at the station.

Professor Niels Bohr, the noted Danish scientist who won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1922, announced early in August that he had succeeded in isolating the new-found element hafnium, recently discovered under Professor Bohr's direction by Professor F. Von Hevesy.

EGYPT

A Zaghlulist manifesto condemning the Compensation of Foreign Officials law was so violently worded that the Egyptian Government was compelled to issue a statement on Aug. 2 warning newspapers that in publishing similar violent utterances they rendered themselves liable to prosecution under the Press law.

Strained relations continued to exist between the Egyptian and Hedjaz Governments over the refusal of the latter to permit the Egyptian Medical Mission to accompany the recent Egyptian pilgrimage to Mecca. The Egyptian Government withdrew from its part in the pilgrimage by ordering the return of the "Holy Carpet."

High feeling between the Greeks and the Italians in Alexandria, due to the Greco-Italian

crisis, necessitated the Egyptian Government on Sept. 5 offering advice to the respective Consuls to restrain their nationals.

ESTHONIA

At the Riga Conference ending Aug. 16 (see Finland), Esthonia, Latvia and Finland, besides agreeing to stand together on all questions affecting them, decided to arrange for extradition of criminals and to simplify passport regulations. Poland sent her Vice Foreign Minister, M. Strassburger, as an observer, but Lithuania was not represented, partly because of her friction with Poland and partly because of her Russian sympathies, as manifested at the Moscow conference with the border States.

The convening of the second Esthonian Parliament in August was accompanied by the resignation of the Kukk Cabinet, but by Aug. 13 a new Cabinet was formed, with the following Ministers:

M. PAETS—Chief of State and Premier.

M. AKEL—Foreign Affairs (National Christian Party).

M. EINBUND—Interior (Agrarian).

M. WESTEL—Finance (no party).

M. WEIDERMANN—Public Instruction (Labor).

M. ISPERG—Roads and Communications (Agrarian).

M. KOSTFELD—Commerce (Agrarian).

M. KEREM—Agriculture (Nationalist).

M. AMBERG—Labor (National Christian).

M. ANDERKOPP—War (Labor).

Messrs. Westel, Einbund, Kostfeld, Isperg and Weidermann were retained from the preceding Cabinet.

FINLAND

Foreign Minister Vennola headed a Finnish delegation at the Riga conference, concluded Aug. 16, in which Esthonia and Latvia also participated. The next day the Helsingfors Hufvudstadsbladet reported M. Vennola's conclusion of a secret treaty among these three countries binding Finland to the Polish-Baltic bloc, which has a common understanding that all its members shall follow the same foreign policy, especially toward Soviet Russia. Lithuania had broken away from this bloc and sided with Moscow at the time of the Moscow conference between Poland and the Baltic States and the Soviets. At this Riga conference the representatives of Finland, Esthonia and Latvia pledged themselves to support a Polish delegation to the



In view of the return this year of the Egyptian official pilgrimage before reaching Mecca with the Holy Carpet, King Hussein of the Hedjaz ordered a substitute which was duly taken to Mecca and placed on the Ka'aba, in which is built the silver-bound and sacred Black Stone of the Mohammedans. The so-called carpet is really a black brocade veil known as the Kiswa. Each year it is cut up and distributed, being replaced by a new one, which of late years has been the gift of the ruler of Egypt. Specially woven in Cairo, according to a traditional pattern, the Kiswa is borne in the Mahmal, or ceremonial camel howdah, which has given its name to the Kiswa and the procession which usually escorts it to Mecca. The Mahmal, in fact, is frequently called "The Holy Carpet," although it is only the vehicle in which that sacred object is conveyed. The above photograph shows the procession which left Cairo this year, but which was recalled by the Egyptian Government.

Council of the League of Nations, in the election of a new Council member. *Hufvudstadsbladet* intimated that Minister Vennola was thereby going ahead of public opinion in Finland, which the paper declared does not favor such an alignment with French foreign policy.

Foreign Minister Vennola, on Aug. 23, gave an interview to the *Helsingfors Iltaalehti*, stating that the Riga agreement was not strictly binding, as the participants reserved the right of independent decision at Geneva. Nevertheless, he said, Finland has no reason to withhold votes from a Polish candidate to the League Council. It was to Finland's interest to favor the Polish candidate, as, on certain questions, "Poland understood Finland better than others." M. Vennola denied that there was any written connection between the Riga agreement and the Warsaw agreement. Furthermore, he indicated that Finland's co-operation with the border States in no way conflicts with Finland's co-operation with Scandinavia.

On Aug. 13, while this Riga conference was going on, there began in Warsaw negotiation of a commercial treaty between Finland and Poland.

The appointment, Aug. 17, of Major Gen. Vilho Petter Nenonen as Minister of Defense was hailed with satisfaction by the press, after a vacancy in this post had caused anxiety.

While M. Schaumann, member of the Parliament, was telling the International Anti-Alcoholic Congress in Copenhagen that prohibition had not reduced consumption of alcohol in Finland, owing to the natural coastal facilities for smuggling, Finland's prohibition law was being officially denounced at home. A summary of replies to a Government questionnaire sent out to physicians, clergymen, police and other authorities throughout the country to ascertain the effectiveness of prohibition enforcement was published Aug. 21. All these authorities sharply criticized the prohibition law and recommended its abolition. Drunkenness was increasing at a shameful rate among the youth, respect for other laws was declining because of prohibition, and it was impossible to secure witnesses for the prosecution of offenders.

FRANCE

Economic conditions generally combined to furnish a solid background for the more optimistic picture presented by France after the inauguration of the new Government in Germany.

The low state of the franc was one feature of the situation which still caused concern, but with the report that the Ruhr population would soon be ordered to cease resistance, French exchange took an immediate and strong upward turn. French authorities pointed to the fact that

France's trade balance for the first seven months of the year was superior to Great Britain's, as proof that the discrepancy in exchange rates between the two countries was not the result of economic conditions, but of manipulation.

France's imports up to Aug. 1 amounted to 17,305,000,000 francs, compared with 12,632,000,000 for the corresponding period a year earlier. Exports were 16,585,000,000 francs as against 11,639,000,000 francs. Corresponding figures for Great Britain were £615,560,000 and £563,848,000 for imports, and £514,847,000 and £476,169,000 for exports.

One of the most encouraging features was the record crop. M. Cheron, Minister of Agriculture, announced on Aug. 23 that on account of the excellence of the harvest France would not have to import any wheat this year. Last year 13,000,000 quintals of wheat were imported. The harvest of 1923 was estimated at 14,000,000 quintals above that of 1922. The index number for wholesale prices was declining.

France had at her disposal 29,248,000 tons of coal during the first six months of the year, as compared with 26,274,000 tons a year earlier. There were, however, only 2,392,000 tons of coke, as compared with 2,671,000. The French iron and steel industry was recovering in consequence of the improvement in the coal market. In July 106 blast furnaces were active, as compared with only seventy-seven in May, and pig iron production had risen from 393,000 tons to 447,000. Average monthly production in 1922 was 435,700 tons and 341,700 in 1921. July's production of steel was 427,000 tons, exceeding by 13,000 tons the record for December, 1922, the last month before the Ruhr occupation. Average monthly production for 1922 and 1921 was 378,000 and 258,500.

Revenues continued to exceed budget estimates. Returns from taxes and Government monopolies for the first seven months of the year were 9,861,000,000 francs, an increase of 41,000,000 over the estimate and 1,117,000,000 over the returns of the corresponding period of 1922. Reports made late in August showed that the *Crédit National* paid out 8,000,000,000 francs for reconstruction in the devastated regions in 1922. This was nearly 55 per cent. of all industrial investments.

On Aug. 14 France launched the armored cruiser *Duguay Trouin*, of 8,000 tons, the first war vessel she has built since before the war.

The *Matin* in an article of Sept. 3 demanded that the Government take immediate action against Germany because of imprisonment of aviators and seizure of French commercial airplanes forced to land on German soil. It was pointed out that despite Germany's refusal to permit French airplanes to fly over her soil, Berlin had recently signed with a London com-

pany an agreement to allow British planes to fly freely over Germany.

General Mangin, speaking at Strasbourg on Aug. 27, drew attention to the great possibilities of the French African colonies as a recruiting ground for the armies of the republic. "It is very unfortunate that the Senegalese are no longer on the Rhine," he said, "and it is not altogether impossible that the violent campaign of the German press and the cunningly malevolent campaign conducted by the press of other countries may be guided by the fear that our colonial empire may be welded into one whole with France herself, and that our power of expansion in the world may thus be increased."

The Government on Aug. 30 conferred the honor of promotion from Knight to Officer of the Legion of Honor upon Prince Ferdinand, Duke de Montpensier, brother of the Duke of Orleans, the French pretender. Prince Ferdinand's claim to promotion was based on his distinguished career as an explorer in Indo-China. The Duke of Orleans has recently been seriously ill of malaria and chronic dysentery in his exile home in a London suburb. Despite the honor conferred upon Prince Ferdinand as a citizen of the republic, in the event of his elder brother's death, which would lead to Prince Ferdinand's becoming a direct claimant to the succession of Louis Philippe, he would be forced to go into permanent exile.

GERMANY

A brief period of something like renewed hope and confidence was inspired by the more direct and vigorous methods of Chancellor Stresemann and his Ministry in attacking Germany's critical problems of currency and taxation.

In connection with most pressing food problems and the extreme depreciation of the mark, it was apparent at the beginning of the month that something of an economic revolution was under way. Talk of inevitable civil war became bolder day by day, as the feeling of the necessity for a military dictatorship became more widespread. At a long council held on Sept. 6, the Stresemann Government resolved for all practical purposes to wield dictatorial powers. Among other measures it was decided immediately to create a new fixed value currency to consist of gold notes, issued by a private gold note bank, and to introduce other fixed value currency. This was calculated to speed up the sale and distribution of the new harvest, which had proceeded exceedingly slowly because of the farmers' refusal to take the practically worthless paper in exchange for their much-demanded foodstuffs.

The change of Cabinet came when the situa-

tion in Germany was more threatening than at any time since the armistice. Strikes and rioting were going on in practically all important cities, and the numbers of killed and wounded reached high figures. Thirty-one were killed and ninety-one wounded in riots in Duesseldorf in one day, and fifteen were killed and sixty wounded in Aix-la-Chapelle. These were typical of conditions in many places. Long lines of hungry people were standing daily in front of depleted provision stores. Even with the tremendous output of marks, amounting to many trillions daily, private banks were getting only about 60 per cent. of their needs.

Communist leaders seized upon this condition at the middle of August to attempt to bring about a general strike in Greater Berlin. It proved a complete fiasco, due largely to differences between the leaders and to a declining faith on the part of German workers in the bogey of Bolshevism.

President Ebert on Aug. 25 signed the emergency ordinance of the Stresemann Government by which it expected to get a large foreign exchange fund with which to stabilize the currency situation. The principal points of the measures were (1) the raising of a fund ranging from 300,000,000 to 500,000,000 gold marks in cash, either by voluntary subscription or by forcible levy, if necessary; (2) to stimulate, accelerate, or force exports to the maximum possible for German industry, and (3) to keep imports to the irreducible minimum of necessities. This stern policy was regarded as spelling the ruin of Germans who had hoarded secret foreign exchange and foreign banknotes. The Boerse and financial circles reacted wildly, and it was declared that even this drastic proposal could not deter Germans from trying to exchange their paper marks for good dollars and hoarding them. The ordinance, however, underwent a sharpening process at the eleventh hour by the inclusion of a paragraph providing for penitentiary sentences for perjury on the part of "slackers" who try to evade the proposed levy on wealth. Estimates of American dollars held in Germany ranged as high as \$500,000,000.

"A brutal tax policy," Dr. Hilferding told the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, "is necessitated for national self-protection, and economic-political doubts and demands must now take a back seat as against the vital necessity of currency reform." As an instance of the necessity of drastic action he mentioned that German State railroads were operating at a deficit at the rate of 450 trillion marks annually, and the deficit rate was still going up. The German public generally was conscious of the Government's supreme salvage efforts, but "Stinnesites," industrialists, agrarians and others called on to make heavy monetary sacrifices were vigorously opposing the action.

Chancellor Stresemann on Aug. 24 made a speech before the National Association of German Chambers of Commerce in which he gave hint of further dictatorial aims. "The emergency ordinance regarding a foreign exchange fund," he said, "is not the sole means by which we believe we can improve matters. Besides the mark we must create a currency of real value, install gold accounts in the Reichsbank, and create real-value credits. We need an active trade balance that demands as a prerequisite, at least for the immediate future, the restriction of imports to absolutely vital necessities and further stimulation of exports. We must have real-value wages and salaries, not based upon those of rich pre-war Germany, but on the present conditions of Germany, struggling hard for existence and with vast foreign obligations. Nor will we emerge from poverty and wretchedness unless we increase our domestic production, and to this end we must throw all party opinions and dogmas overboard and by all means show the world a positive, vital optimism, resting on faith in our own strength."

That Dr. Stresemann was not too optimistic was evinced in a newspaper interview of Aug. 28, in which he said: "If my Government fails, accomplishing nothing, then I shall perhaps be the last civilian Chancellor of Germany. It may be the end"; and, commenting on the food problem, "if we can keep the people fed, perhaps all will be well, but we have not got the food. Although there are many million cans of frozen meat in Germany, we have not the money with which to buy it from the American owners."

In the week of Aug. 23 the Reichsbank issued 157 trillion new paper marks, bringing the note circulation to nearly 274 trillion. In early September it required some 60 to 70 million such marks to buy a dollar. The shortage of cash which had reached an acute point a month earlier had, however, practically passed, due to wholesale printing of notes of 20 and 50 million denominations.

A conference of employers' committees and workers' representatives in Berlin decided on Aug. 25 to pay wages in paper marks on a gold basis as soon as transformation from the old system could be effected. This tendency to get down to some basis of real value behind the mark was general throughout trade and industry.

Agitation for the Reich to request admission to the League of Nations, which began with the organs of the Democratic Party in early June, continued to make headway and gained the support of a section of the Socialists. This movement met almost unanimous opposition from the Bavarian press. Any attempt of the Stresemann Cabinet to associate Germany with the League as at present constituted would mean a definite break between Bavaria and the Reich, it was declared.

Field Marshal Ludendorff reviewed 200,000 monarchist adherents at Nuremberg, Bavaria, on Sept. 2 and added the climactic touch to the Pan-German motive running through the day's exercises which centred around the field mass held over the bodies of those killed in the World War. Turning from the review, Ludendorff presented Prince Ferdinand, eldest son of the present Kaiserin, with a silver goblet filled with wine and said, "I hail your Majesty." The Prince knelt and took the cup. Herr Hitler, many of whose gray-shirted Fascisti marched in the review, sounded the keynote of Bavaria's "Monarchy Day," saying: "We need another revolution in Germany, not like the socialist, bourgeois and Jewish revolution of 1918, but a nationalist revolution of today, to restore Germany's might and greatness. We can save Germany from internal and foreign foes only through blood and sword. We need a revolution, bloodshed and a dictatorship."

Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, the American draft evader, on Aug. 31 fled from Eberbach to parts unknown, possibly to Switzerland, with his aged mother, as a result of her pleadings since the recent attempt to kidnap him at Eberbach.

GREAT BRITAIN

Announcement was made on Aug. 27 of the appointment of Neville Chamberlain, Minister of Health, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the appointment of Sir William Joynson-Hicks, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, to the Health Ministry. These changes, which completed the Baldwin Cabinet, were the outcome of the refusal by Reginald McKenna to accept the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the face of Tory "die-hard" opposition.

Authoritative reports originating in naval circles state that Great Britain's two new battle-ships, Nelson and Rodney, will each mount nine 16-inch guns, which will be carried in triple turrets, a new form of mounting. Each of these great guns will be capable of hurling a shell weighing approximately 2,500 pounds.

According to official figures, 87,953 alien passengers, excluding emigrants in transit, landed in the United Kingdom in April, May and June and 74,638 embarked, while permission to land was denied to 926.

Another link was added to the aerial route from England to India by the opening of a new airway between Moscow and Tiflis. As London and Manchester were already linked aerially with Berlin and Moscow, it now became possible to fly from the London to the Persian border in forty hours.

The unemployment situation has become worse. The total of persons out of work at the end of July was 1,235,000, as against 1,226,000 at the

end of June. Trade disputes involved 95,000. According to official statements, unemployment since the armistice has cost the Government £400,000,000. This charge upon British resources, it is held, has been aggravated by the military occupation of the Ruhr and its economic effects in Central Europe. The Board of Trade returns for July showed a decrease in imports of £12,500,000 as compared with June, and a decline of £3,330,000 exports for the corresponding period.

On the other hand, trade with Germany has shown an increase, imports being nearly £17,000,000 as against £12,000,000 in the first half of 1922, and exports to Germany £31,000,000 as against £24,500,000 for the same period last year.

A reduced Unionist majority was the feature of the by-election at South Portsmouth on Aug. 13, when Major H. R. Cayzer, Conservative, was elected over his Liberal opponent by 11,884 to 9,736 votes, a majority of 2,148. At the two previous elections the Conservative majorities were 5,867 and 10,880 respectively.

The lowest death rate for London ever recorded occurred during the week preceding Aug. 4, when the mortality was 7.9 per 1,000 of the population. The rate for the corresponding period last year was 8.1 per thousand.

It was announced on Aug. 25 that the American Congressional Medal, America's tribute of recognition to British valor during the war, would be placed under glass in the slab of Belgian marble which covers the grave of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey.

It was announced on Aug. 27 that, owing to the direct interest of the British dominions and colonies in the shipment of alcohol to countries in North and South America, the long-deferred reply to the American proposals regarding prohibition enforcement would likely be postponed until after the Imperial Conference in London in October, by which time the views of the Dominion statesmen on such questions raised by the United States Government as the extension of the three-mile limit to twelve miles would have been gathered and clarified. On Sept. 7 official notice was taken by the United States authorities of the action of Sir Broderick Hall, formerly a Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army and Inspector General of the Jamaica Constabulary, and others, in issuing a circular inviting the British public to subscribe to a scheme to ship liquor on a large scale across the Atlantic for the bootleg trade by transfer on the high seas outside the three-mile limit.

A comprehensive report by Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador to the United States, on his visit to the immigrant station at Ellis Island last December, was published on Aug. 15. It contained recommendations for the improvement of conditions which had been made the subject of repeated complaint.

GREECE

The Greco-Italian crisis, coming at the close of the month of August, overshadowed all other Greek questions. In addition to the external crisis, there was also an internal one which made more difficulties every day. The peace treaty with Turkey was ratified by a legislative decree, signed by King George and his Ministers, without being submitted to the representatives of the people, as the Greek Constitution demands. The ratification of the treaty took place on Aug. 27, and by that act most of the war legislation was abolished. Exception was made for martial law and censorship, which continue by order of the revolution.

The general elections, for which the Greek people have been clamoring ever since the National Assembly was dissolved by the Revolutionary Committee a year ago, are tentatively set for Oct. 28. In the meantime, however, the Government is reported to be taking measures to make the success of the Opposition more difficult. Thus the electoral system is about to be changed, by the establishment of the so-called "narrow" constituencies, in contrast with the "wide," which have been for years in force. By this system the local "boss" is supreme, intimidation of the voters is easier, and manipulation of the votes is common. Those who support the new system point out that it brings forth a better class of candidates, who have more of a personal appeal to their constituents, by whom they are usually well known. Another innovation consists in the application of the system of proportional representation, by which candidates are elected by reference to the total vote cast for their party, and not by what vote they individually get.

A third item consists in the handling of the refugee vote. All Greek refugees that came to Greece in the last ten years have been declared Greek citizens, irrespective of their former allegiance. They will, therefore, vote for the first time in the next general election. According to the original plan these refugees, who form a class by themselves, would elect a special set of representatives for the National Assembly. This is now changed and the refugees will vote wherever they happen to be on election day. By this means the Government allegedly hopes to secure a safe reserve of refugee Venizelist votes, to be used in the weaker points of the electoral front, where the anti-Venizelists are in force. These reforms are unanimously condemned by the entire Greek press, Venizelist and anti-Venizelist alike, and are supported only by a weak democratic faction and by the Revolutionary Government.

On the day peace was signed Mr. Venizelos addressed to the Greek people a manifesto in which he explained at great length the reasons of his permanent retirement from public life.

This is due, according to Mr. Venizelos, not to any failure of his foreign policy, but to the fact that in carrying out his policy he took the law in his hands, therefore placing himself above it. He says that in so doing he inflicts upon himself a punishment, which consists in the destruction of his entire political future. Mr. Venizelos, without abandoning his democratic ideas, advises his friends to act with moderation, and not to try to impose their ideas by force. He adds that those who would force a new system of government on an unwilling people will injure Greece and make her recovery more difficult. Finally, Mr. Venizelos pledges himself to the service of Greece in any capacity, which, however, does not involve his returning to the country.

Shortly after Mr. Venizelos had issued his proclamation, the veteran statesman, Mr. Alexander Zaimis, whom the Revolutionary Government asked to form the party of "National Conciliation," with the co-operation of all moderates of the Venizelist and anti-Venizelist camps, gave a statement to the press in which he charged both parties with having deliberately brought about the present situation of the country. Mr. Zaimis states that the anti-Venizelists are chiefly responsible for King Constantine's undoing, and he blames the Venizelists for their policy of violence, pressure, tyranny and misgovernment, which brought about the overwhelming defeat of the Liberals in the general election of Nov. 14, 1920. Mr. Zaimis declares that in the interest of the country, all prominent Venizelists must abstain from the next general election, thus permitting the younger elements to come forward and work for the reconstruction of the country.

Mr. Zaimis was roundly accused by both parties for his statements, the leader of the Royalist section of the Venizelist party, General Danglis, going so far as to accuse the veteran statesman of "demanding the suicide of the Venizelist" party.

A general strike of serious proportions took place in Greece following the application of the new scale of wages and the abolition of legislation favorable to labor unions. The Government broke the strike with an iron hand, disbanding the unions, confiscating their funds, taking over their offices and imprisoning the leaders. In a clash with the military several casualties occurred.

HAWAII

As a sequence, possibly, of the disastrous Japanese earthquake, the volcano of Kilauea in Hawaii on Sept. 5 resumed activity. Molten lava, bursting forth with loud reports, was hurled 150 feet in the air, and streamed down the sides of the volcano.

HOLLAND

Kendrik Colijn succeeded as Minister of Finance, in the second week of August, Minister De Geer, who had resigned in despair over the necessity of balancing the budget and at the same time constructing a fleet to protect the colonies of the Dutch East Indies. Minister Colijn proposes drastic economies as a means of solving this twofold problem. The Socialists, through the columns of *Het Volk*, made capital of his membership in the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation as implying that the purpose of the naval bill is to protect the Dutch and English oil interests in the East Indies. According to the *Telegraaf*, Minister Colijn's proposed economy measures, which were expected to have far-reaching effects on the life of the country and all classes of its people, will begin with a 15 per cent. reduction in the salaries of all State functionaries and of persons employed by the railroad companies. He will then lengthen the working day and economize in all branches of social insurance work, in the hope of thereby saving at least 100,000,000 guilders. (The State budget for 1924 is expected to show a deficit of 131,000,000 guilders.)

Minister Colijn takes cognizance of the fact that though the United States Government protested in 1920 against the lease of the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies to the Royal Dutch Shell group, there is no likelihood of America's going to war with Britain for possession of these oil fields. At the same time he aims to put the Dutch East Indies in a position either to secure Dutch neutrality, in the event of a war in the Pacific, or advantageously to take part in such a conflict. As War Minister from 1911 to 1913 he did much to strengthen the Dutch army of 500,000 men, which in the World War insured Dutch neutrality when many in both Germany and England talked of making Holland take sides. His view, as reported in the Dutch press, is that a Dutch fleet based on Soerabaya might serve a similar purpose in case of a war in the Pacific.

Results of the first parliamentary election held under the proportional representation system in the Netherlands, by Sept. 9, showed a shifting of strength in the First Chamber of the States General from the Right to the Left. The relative distribution in the old First Chamber and the new First Chamber are shown in the following comparative table:

	Old Chamber.	New Chamber.
Catholics	21	16
Orthodox	14	8
Christian Historical Party..	7	7
Socialists	3	11
Liberty Party	1	5
Liberal Democrats	4	3

The various provinces choose the members of the First Chamber, whereas those of the Second Chamber are elected directly by the people.

HONGKONG

A typhoon which swept the harbor of Hongkong on the morning of Aug. 18, attained the record velocity of 130 miles an hour. The British submarine L-9 was sunk with all hands except one, and considerable damage was done to shipping. On shore the typhoon created general havoc, causing death and injuries to 200 persons.

HUNGARY

Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, on Sept. 12, unexpectedly adjourned the National Assembly by decree until Jan. 13. Members of the extreme Left accuse the Government of seeking to exercise dictatorial power.

To end Hungary's financial difficulties it was proposed that a loan be offered under the auspices of the League of Nations. At the meeting of the Little Entente Foreign Ministers at Sinaia, it was decided to support such a plan on certain conditions being fulfilled and certain guarantees being given that Hungary would not use the money for military purposes. The attitude of London and Paris financiers, through whom such a loan would have to be floated, remained uncertain.

Meanwhile the Hungarian-Italian bank is trying to awaken interest in its plan of receiving wheat deposits and giving wheat credits based on such deposits.

INDIA

The Government of India on Aug. 18 published its views on the Kenya Colony question, declaring it to be a duty to make representations to the British Government to safeguard Indian interests in the application of the decision with respect to immigration, election and any other cases arising from the decision on the basis of "full equality of status between Indians and Europeans."

With a literary test so simple that even capacity to grasp the sense of a printed book or article is not necessary, census returns for 1921 showed that in Bengal, India's most progressive province, 43,000,000 persons out of 47,000,000 were totally illiterate, while women literate in any language were limited to half a million, and persons supposed to understand the language of political debate numbered only three-quarters of a million.

The unemployment problem in Calcutta has drawn attention to the growing precariousness of the Eurasian community, composed of some hundred thousand persons of partly black and partly

white parentage or descent. While their social position between the two races had never been a satisfactory one, educational superiority and loyalty to the Government had enabled them to fill many of the less important official positions. But now such advantages were being swept aside by equally or more competent Indians. The Indian railways, which in 1922 employed 7,000 Europeans, 12,000 Eurasians and over 700,000 Indians, are pursuing a relentless policy of ousting both Europeans and Eurasians.

With the release on Aug. 16 of Lajpat Rai, Dr. Kitchlew, and practically all non-co-operators with the exception of Gandhi, and the impending release of the Ali brothers, the extremist Khilafat leaders, the opening of the special congress at Delhi on Dec. 11 will probably be attended by a majority of Indian politicians.

After a struggle lasting several months and involving the imprisonment of some 1,300 persons, the Central Provinces Government decided to permit Satyagrahi leaders, accompanied by mounted police, to carry Swaraj flags in procession through the prohibited area of Nagpur on Aug. 19.

Surprise was caused by the reference of Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, in his prorogation address to the existence of the "workings of organized revolutionary societies," and the declaration that "Government required an exceptional degree of support from the public."

Religious conflicts between Hindus and Mohammedans were continued on a wider scale. During Aug. 25-27, at the close of the Murharram, rioting occurred at Saharanpur and Gonda in the United Provinces; at Agra, where firearms were used and heavy casualties followed; and in lesser degree in Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Amritsar and Nellore, where the long-standing feud between the two great divisions of Islam, the Sunnites and Shiites, blazed up.

An earthquake shock of considerable intensity was experienced in Calcutta on Sept. 10. Fifty persons were killed or injured, and much damage was done to property in the Nymen-Singh district. Shocks also occurred in Bencichong, in Assam, preceded by loud detonations.

IRELAND

With the dissolution of the Dail Eireann on Aug. 9 electioneering began at once for the new Parliament. In a closing speech President Cosgrave pointed with satisfaction to the passage of forty-three acts. On the same date Count Plunkett, Republican Deputy for Roscommon and one of the most uncompromising opponents of the Anglo-Irish treaty and the Free State Government, was released from the military internment camp in County Kildare.

A feature of the election campaign was the

bewildering number of candidates, representing a wide variety of parties and interests. Thus, apart from the Ministerialists and Republicans, the Farmers' Party entered the contest with two organizations, while Labor was also split into two factions, and, in addition, business men and other independents contended for political support on divers issues. Eamon de Valera, Republican leader, offered himself as a candidate for Clare on a platform of "untrammelled independence." At Ennis, County Clare, on Aug. 14 de Valera was addressing an open-air meeting, when Free State troops invaded the scene in an armored car and, without opposition, carried off the Republican leader. In possible anticipation of some such event de Valera had previously appointed Patrick Rutledge "Deputy and Acting President." Rutledge promptly issued a protest against the violation of the rights of free speech and free elections. De Valera was taken to Limerick and thence to Dublin on Aug. 18.

The elections for 150 members to represent twenty-nine constituencies took place Aug. 27. All three candidates for the National University were elected, as follows: Professor John MacNeill, Minister of Education; Professor Michael Hayes, Speaker of the last Dail, and Professor McGennes. Other early announcements gave President Cosgrave a victory of 17,744 first preference votes in Carlow, Defense Minister Mulcahy 22,243 first preferences in North Dublin, while Home Minister O'Higgins topped the list in County Dublin with 20,849 votes, which also virtually assured Desmond Fitzgerald of the second seat. President Cosgrave's brother, Philip Cosgrave, Governor of Mountjoy Prison; Osmond Grattan Esmonde, son of Sir Thomas H. G. Esmonde, and George Wolfe, a descendant of the General Wolfe of Quebec fame, all entered the Dail as Government supporters. Among Republican notables elected were Eamon de Valera for County Clare, P. J. Rutledge, "Deputy President of the Irish Republic"; Frank Aiken, the Chief of Staff of the Republican Army; Dan Breen, anti-British extremist; Bernard Mellowes, brother of the executed Liam Mellowes; the Countess Markievicz, who was the first woman elected to the British Parliament, but who had suffered a defeat at the previous Dail election; Miss Mary MacSwiney for Cork City; Dr. Kathleen Lynn and Mrs. Brugha for Waterford, where the other seats went to Captain Redmond, Independent, a Farmer, and a Laborite. The defeat of George Gavan Duffy, former Foreign Minister, and Robert Barton, in prison as a Republican enemy of the Government, left Edmund Duggan the only signatory of the Anglo-Irish treaty in the Dail. On Aug. 30 announcement was made that the entire former Ministry was returned, with the exception of the Minister of Fisheries, whose election was assured. The surprises of the election proved to be a

landslide away from Labor and public apathy toward the Farmers.

The final result of the election was as follows:

Government	63
Republican	44
Independents	16
Labor	15
Farmers	15

Total153

Three years' salvage operations on the submerged liner *Laurentic*, which was sunk off the Donegal coast in twenty fathoms of water during the war, were successful in recovering 2,849 out of the 2,879 gold bars up to Aug. 29. At times, especially before the truce, great secrecy was maintained over the work for fear of a Sinn Fein attack from the shore. The value of the gold and silver treasure recovered was estimated at nearly £5,000,000.

Disturbances were reported on Sept. 1 at Ballycastle, Mayo, where a Free State patrol was fired upon by Republicans and a corporal killed; and a party of Free State troops was ambushed, but without casualties, at Castleconnel, Limerick. On Sept. 3 Republican attacks were made in Dublin on the Amiens Street Railway Station, the Central telegraph office and the Mountjoy Prison, the exchange of rifle shots lasting about forty minutes.

ITALY

The murder of General Tellini, the Italian President of the International Commission for Delimitation of the Greco-Albanian frontier, and four Italian members of his suite, near Janina, Aug. 27, Premier Mussolini's consequent ultimatum to Greece, his bombardment and occupation of Corfu and other Greek islands, and the resultant international crisis over this Greco-Italian quarrel are treated in a special article in this issue.

Of even greater international menace is considered Italy's strained relations with Yugoslavia over the question of Fiume, culminating in Premier Mussolini's ultimatum to the Yugoslav Government demanding a settlement of the question by Aug. 3.

As no decision was reached by Aug. 31, Premier Mussolini gave the Belgrade Government fifteen days in which to answer definitely as to whether it would agree to the Italian proposals, after which Italy would consider itself free to resume full liberty of action. Tension was increasing at the end of the first week in September.

By Sept. 11 the massing of large bodies of Italian troops at Trieste, ostensibly for general manoeuvres, was taken as in reality a making ready for complications with Yugoslavia in case

the diplomatic deadlock continued after Sept. 15. Premier Mussolini and the Minister of Foreign Affairs were reticent about the Fiume question, but gave the impression that some sort of negotiations were still going on. It was known that Premier Poincaré of France and Dr. Benes were still exerting their influence for an amicable settlement.

The Socialist grip on the Italian Federation of Labor was broken at the Milan meeting of the Federation, Aug. 24, which voted that the Federation could not ally itself with any political party. The Federation of Labor ended its Milan meeting Aug. 26, with a defeat of the Maximalists, Communists and more extreme elements of the Socialist movement, and with a clear victory for supporters of the so-called "collaborationist" thesis.

Signor Giovanni Colonna di Cesara, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, resigned from Mussolini's Cabinet, Aug. 27, and his Ministry was incorporated in the new Ministry of Communications, together with the commissariats for the railroads and mercantile marine. No reasons for his resignation were made public, but it was known that he disagreed with Mussolini's policy of returning State-owned public utilities to private hands.

The Italian Government officially notified the League of Nations, Sept. 11, that Italy had ordered the abolition, within the Italian Legation, of the slavery system existing in the Empire of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), which recently applied for membership in the League. Italy directed the native staff of its Legation, which owns slaves, henceforth to consider them as servants, not slaves, pending Italian arrangements to restore them to liberty, with compensation to their owners.

JAPAN

The greatest earthquake calamity in history, which with fires and tidal waves destroyed several Japanese cities and hundreds of thousands of lives, and cost Japan more money than her losses in the Russo-Japanese war is treated in a special article of this magazine. Most nations of the world have contributed relief in money and goods, the United States having by Sept. 15 raised nearly \$7,000,000 and sent vast quantities of food, clothing, and medical aid and skilled assistance.

Baron Tomosaburo Kato, Premier of Japan, died Aug. 24. He was mourned officially in the countries signatory to the Washington Armament Limitation Treaty, which he had helped to frame while heading the Japanese delegation to the Washington Conference. The life and achievements of the late Premier are described in a special article published elsewhere in these pages.

Viscount Yasuya Uchida became Acting Premier Aug. 25 until Aug. 28, when Count

Gombei Yamamoto was appointed Premier as Baron Kato's successor. Formation of his new Cabinet began in the midst of the earthquake disaster.

JUGOSLAVIA

Jugoslavia is again menaced on three sides owing to recent disturbances in the Balkans. The new bourgeoisie Bulgarian Government is bitterly anti-Serb. Italy is strengthening ties with Hungary and encouraging the Albanians to a hostile attitude. At the same time the Yugoslav State is menaced by Croatian Separatists, whose legitimate desire for liberal autonomy was rudely thwarted by the Government at Belgrade.

Shots were exchanged on Aug. 16 between about twenty Italian Fascisti and Yugoslav Nationalists gathered on Mount Tricorno. The Inter-allied Commission to Mark Out the Italo-Yugoslav Frontier has not decided whether Mount Tricorno belongs to Italy or Jugoslavia.

Application of the Treaty of Rapallo was entrusted to a mixed commission of Jugoslavs and Italians, who on Aug. 31 agreed to a proposal that the City of Fiume and adjacent territory should be administered by a board on which Italy, Jugoslavia and the Free State of Fiume should be represented. The Belgrade Government, however, showed unwillingness to agree. It claims Porto Barros, a portion of the harbor opposite the suburb of Susak, but Italy says Fiume harbor cannot be thus divided. Premier Pashitch proposed arbitration, which Italy manifested no wish to accept. Pashitch, interviewed in Paris, said Jugoslavia was prepared to protect her interests. The Yugoslav Army has been extensively reorganized and re-equipped since 1919. Extensive orders for arms and ammunition have been filled in France out of a credit of 300,000,000 francs which the French Parliament approved before the Summer recess.

Queen Marie of Jugoslavia, second daughter of the Rumanian Queen, who was married to King Alexander on June 8 last year, gave birth to a son on Sept. 6, assuring direct succession in the Karageorgevitch dynasty.

LATVIA

Negotiations were under way Sept. 9 between the Soviet Russian Minister to Latvia and the Latvian authorities, looking toward the Soviets' leasing of the grain elevators at the Latvian ports of Riga and Windau for the transportation of Russian grains. Although the Soviet Government was ready to agree to repair and improve at its own expense any elevators it should take over for use, no agreement had been reached because the Russians were demanding too many privileges, such as extremely low freight rates, and so forth.

MEXICO

Recognition of Mexico by the United States on Aug. 31, after suspending relations for more than ten years, marks a great triumph for President Obregon's policy of patiently waiting until the pressure of public opinion forced a settlement. He had against him the grafters, who saw disappearing their opportunity of seizing slices of Mexico, and oil monopolists seeking to grab her petroleum resources. Bankers were clamoring for payment of loans made during troubled times, two issues of which made by President Huerta to sustain his revolution after the murder of Madero were disallowed.

In the Constitution of 1917 Article 27 provided that the title to mineral and other subsoil deposits was vested in the people of Mexico. Fears of oil men that they would lose their monopolies led to an American protest. The Supreme Court of Mexico decided that Article 27 was not retroactive, so the older oil companies retain their legal rights but are heavily taxed for the privilege. The quarrel over the public debt was compromised, Mexico agreeing to recognize bonds the principal of which amounts to about half a billion dollars.

The American Commissioners sent by President Harding to adjust differences with the United States reached a full agreement on these points, and the final compact was signed by both sides on Aug. 15. President Obregon entertained the American and Mexican Commissioners at a farewell banquet given in honor of Charles B. Warren and John Barton Payne, the American delegates. Mr. Warren and Mr. Payne arrived in Washington on Aug. 20. They presented their report to Secretary Hughes and conferred with President Coolidge. The agreement signed provides that American oil companies' rights to subsoil acquired and exploited prior to the Constitution of May 1, 1917, remain intact; after that date the provisions of the Constitution prevail.

Likewise under the agrarian section of the agreement American rights acquired prior to 1917 stand, while those acquired later are subject to the provisions of the Constitution relative to the division of huge estates and to subsequent agrarian reform laws. Two mixed claims conventions provide for a settlement of American claims for damages during the revolutionary period from 1910 to 1920, and for settlement of Mexican claims for damages by the Vera Cruz and Pershing expeditions. It was agreed to have the President of the World Court at The Hague appoint neutral umpires for the claims, which were signed in Washington on Sept. 8.

On Aug. 27 the State Department sent a communication to the Obregon Government virtually according recognition. Other discussion of details was concluded in the next three days and recognition followed. Meanwhile the State Department had notified Great Britain, France, Switzerland

and Belgium of its position, and recognition of Mexico by those Governments was expected. Most other nations of South America, Europe and Asia had preceded the United States in recognizing Mexico.

France recognized Mexico on Sept. 3 and decided to name Jean Perier, Envoy in London, as Minister. On the same day credentials were exchanged by the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, George F. Summerlin, and by Manuel C. Tellez, the Mexican representative in Washington, with the respective Governments, thus restoring full international relations. Former commercial, customs and extradition treaties were resumed.

President Obregon opened the session of the Mexican Congress on Sept. 1, personally reading his message. He declared that the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United States was not the result of obligations contracted or treaties negotiated and in no way violated the Mexican laws or Constitution or injured the sovereignty or dignity of the nation. Mexico, he said, was able to meet all its obligations and would carry out its foreign debt agreement with the international bankers. Allotments of commercial lands by 127 towns had been proposed and seventy-seven granted. All parts of the country were at peace, the army had been decreased and a further reduction would be made.

An agent of the League of Nations arrived in Mexico on Aug. 22 from Guatemala to make a complete study of Mexican conditions.

A heated Presidential campaign is about to begin in Mexico. General Plutarco Elias Calles, Secretary of the Interior, on Sept. 1 tendered his resignation, effective Oct. 1, in order to announce his candidacy. He is supported by the Socialist Party of Southeastern Mexico, the States of Tabasco, Chiapas, Campeche and Yucatan.

The mystery of Francisco Villa's death was cleared up by the arrest of Jesus Salas, a member of the Durango Legislature, at Monterey, on his way to the United States. Salas said that he had organized the group and had planned and executed the killing of Villa. The group consisted of neighbors from the small town of El Oro who had suffered losses of members of their families when Villa captured the town and executed its leading citizens. Salas said he considered it his duty to rid the world of an infamous monster. He was tried and on Sept. 13 sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

A serious strike in the latter part of August tied up all the industries in Vera Cruz and threatened to extend throughout the republic. No trains arrived and steamers lay idle at the wharves. It began with the motormen of the Vera Cruz tramways, who demanded higher wages and quit work when the company absolutely declined to treat with them. The Federal authorities moved troops into the city to patrol the streets and protect life and property. The reg-

ular police joined the strikers and performed their duties under direction of the Strike Committee. The strike was declared off on Aug. 27 after a conference between representatives of the Confederation of Railway Men's Societies and the Workers' League of the Vera Cruz Maritime Zone, prompted by the determined attitude of the moderate laborites and the consumers.

NEWFOUNDLAND

A political crisis was reached on Aug. 11 when Premier Warren informed the House of Assembly that he had invited three senior barristers, Messrs. Knight, Blackwood, and Fenelon, all benchers of the Law Society, to form a commission to investigate all matters connected with the downfall of Sir R. A. Squire's Ministry, but that they had declined, and the Government would, therefore, be obliged to take other steps. The Premier announced on Aug. 16 that the Government had requested the Governor to telegraph to the Newfoundland offices in London for a competent person to come over and take charge of the investigation. Meantime the former Premier, Sir Richard Squires, left for Canada.

NEW ZEALAND

Premier Massey, accompanied by a large Parliamentary party, officially opened the Otira Tunnel on Aug. 6. The work is not only the greatest engineering feat in the Dominion, but is the longest tunnel in the British Empire, and the seventh as regards length in the world. It stretches from the Southern Alps for five and a quarter miles, it has a single track, three feet six inches standard gauge, is worked electrically with material of entirely British make, and took sixteen years to complete at a cost of £1,650,000.

The Naval Defense Report presented to Parliament on Oct. 16 stated that the foundations had been laid for the expansion of the seagoing squadron, as the financial position improved, to three light cruisers, an oil tanker, and a submarine unit. It was anticipated that New Zealand's share of the cost of the naval base at Singapore, estimated at £200,000, would be discharged in two years.

NORWAY

The National City Company of New York announced on Aug. 15 that it had underwritten a \$20,000,000 loan to Norway, the money to be raised through the sale to American investors of this amount in bonds bearing 6 per cent. interest and maturing in twenty years.

In this connection it was intimated that Norway had virtually recovered from its difficulties growing out of the World War and the Government had definitely announced its confidence

that it could balance its budget for the fiscal year 1924. The proceeds of the new loan will be used to fund short-term indebtedness, and in effect to balance the budget for the year ended June 30, 1923. The Government has adopted a strong policy of cutting down expenditures. According to the bankers' figures the total debt of Norway on June 30 was \$379,821,000. Against this the country owns properties, mostly revenue-producing, valued at \$335,000,000. To the fact that Norway has never defaulted on a National Government loan is attributed the relatively low interest yield of Norwegian securities listed on the Exchanges of New York, London and Paris. Norway has now floated three major loans in the American market since the war and one in London. Besides the present \$20,000,000 issue, the American loans consisted of an issue of \$20,000,000 twenty-year 8 per cent. bonds brought out in October, 1920, and an issue of \$18,000,000 thirty-year 6 per cent. bonds brought out in October, 1922. The bonds of the latest issue, dated Aug. 15, 1923, and due Aug. 15, 1943, are non-redeemable except for sinking fund, and this sinking fund will begin to be operative Feb. 15, 1929. They are direct-obligation bonds and are redeemable at par.

In pursuance of the Norwegian-Danish agreement to appoint negotiators to discuss the two country's respective rights in the Greenland controversy, after a newspaper war of several months, the Norwegian Council of State appointed its delegation Aug. 21.

PALESTINE

A favorable development in the Arab attitude toward the Advisory Council was recorded in Jerusalem on Aug. 9. Of the ten Arab nominees, six had accepted the position after negotiations with Sir Gilbert Clayton, Acting High Commissioner. But later some uneasiness returned following two resignations, including that of Sheik Parich Abu Middain.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Zionist Organization was opened by the President, Dr. Chaim Weizmann at Carlsbad, on Aug. 6, with three hundred delegates present from all countries having Jewish populations, with the exception of Russia and Hungary, where Zionism is forbidden. At succeeding sessions the work of the leaders of the organization and the policy of the British Administration came in for some sharp criticism. After a stormy all-night meeting on Aug. 19 the congress closed with a resolution expressing "heartiest thanks" to the Congress of the United States for going on record in favor of the Jewish homeland, and approved the policy of Dr. Weizmann by electing his nominees to the Executive Council. Among those seated were Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the American Federation of Zionists; Joseph Cowen, London, and

Dr. Soloweichek, formerly of Lithuania. Those elected to serve on the Actions Committee were as follows: Herman Cohnheim, Treasurer of the American Palestine Foundation Fund; A. Goldberg, member of the American Zionist Administration; Jacob Fishman, Managing Editor of the Jewish Morning Journal, and Morris Rothenberg, all of New York. Bernard A. Rosenblatt of New York, formerly a member of the Executive Committee, was named on the economic council.

An agreement has been reached between Great Britain and France respecting the boundary line dividing Syria and Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Yamuk.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Colonel Jay J. Morrow, Governor of the Panama Canal Zone, who arrived in New York on Aug. 27, said that the waterway was paying more than 3 per cent. on the investment. This, however, refers merely to the bonded indebtedness. With the Colombian settlement the total expended on the canal has been approximately \$400,000,000. Costs of operation are about \$600,000 a month and profits \$50,000.

The ninth anniversary of the opening of the canal occurred on Aug. 14. During the fiscal year ending June 30 there were 4,272 vessels passing through with a cargo tonnage of 21,210,000. Tolls collected were \$18,975,000, against 2,736 ships and \$11,197,832 in other tolls. During the nine years of its existence 20,474 vessels have passed through, with 34,234,474 tons of cargo, paying \$78,549,346 in tolls. All records of that period were surpassed in July, when 474 ships passed through and the sum of \$2,124,429 was collected.

Alberta and Saskatchewan, in the Canadian West, are already shipping dairy products to England by way of the canal, the rate having been reduced from \$3 to \$1.50 a hundred pounds. This is \$1.77 cheaper than the rail and sea route via Montreal.

PARAGUAY

Commander Francisco Brizuela of the revolutionary army has given up fighting and issued a statement which reads in part as follows: "Convinced of the uselessness of continuing hostilities owing to our lack of resources, and wishing to profit by the opportunity to leave the country in safety after the supreme effort, we agreed to negotiate through Señor Patri-Medio for the surrendering of our 250 troops; satisfactory assurances of their treatment having been given us by the Minister of War, I, with Colonels Mendoza and Jara, crossed the frontier into Argentina." With this new disaster, the movement headed by Colonel Chirife is practically a complete failure.

After a council of the Cabinet, the Executive has issued a proclamation of general amnesty, ending by an invitation to all exiled by the recent revolution to return to their country. A transport has been dispatched to pick up the remnants of revolutionary bands along the banks of the Paraguay and Parana Rivers.

The leaders of the radical party have opened negotiations with the liberal group looking toward unification. The Representatives and Senators of the radical denomination have presented their resignation in block, thus making impossible the quorum in the Senate. It is expected that those that signed the manifesto with which the revolutionary movement was started will be declared unfit to continue in Congress.

PERSIA

Five severe earthquakes and heavy floods in the region of Turbat-i-Haidari were reported as having occurred during the twenty-four hours preceding Aug. 20, with many casualties and much damage to property.

As an adjunct to the Muharram festival a crowd of 5,000 persons paraded the streets of Teheran on Aug. 25 by way of protest against the expulsion of the Shiah Ulema from Iraq. They were headed by the Sheik Mahdi al Ehalesi, the Alim, whose expulsion from Iraq brought about the general enforced exodus of Shiah leaders.

PERU

The Government issued a formal denial to the charges published by Don Isías de Piérola in New York as to the existence of a cable consorship in connection with certain communications exchanged between the person named and the candidate for the Presidency, Dr. Germán Leguia y Martínez. The accusations presented before the American public through CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE of April last constitute the main body in the controversy still raging in the press. There are at least five candidates to succeed the present incumbent, President Augusto Leguia. The rector of the University of San Marcos, Dr. Villarín, is one of them, and the name of Dr. Piérola himself is given as one of the aspirants, despite the fact that he favors the candidacy of Señor Leguia y Martínez. The Presidential election will take place the middle of next year.

PHILIPPINES

General Leonard Wood in his annual report as Governor of the Philippine Islands, made public on Sept. 1, opposed Government operation of a national bank and other matters usually left to private enterprise. He devotes most of his re-

port to the activities of the Philippine National Bank which resulted in its failure and the criminal prosecution of some of its officials. The bank's affairs were managed with great incompetence; loans to sugar centrals and cocoanut plantations were made in excessive amounts at boom times with little security; the bank's funds were used for speculation in exchange and the Government's reserves for currency were dissipated.

During the six years of its operation the bank lost \$37,345,500, representing the Government's entire investment of 98 per cent. of the bank's capital stock, in addition to \$15,346,500, or 64 per cent. of the Government's deposits. Bonds totaling \$23,000,000 were sold to provide funds to re-establish the currency system on a gold basis, and other bonds for irrigation and public works were made necessary. The bank's remaining assets were solidly tied up in "frozen" loans, and it had virtually no reserves behind its \$40,837,500 in deposits and \$15,379,000 in circulating notes. "The underlying fallacy of the bank," General Wood said, "was that it encouraged speculation in handling and marketing products rather than assisting in their production."

Under ordinary circumstances, General Wood added, it would have been his duty to close the bank, but he felt it unwise to do so until after the Legislature had been given full knowledge of the situation. General Wood sent a message, detailing all these facts, to the Legislature on Feb. 16. The House and Senate leaders suppressed the message and it did not become public until Aug. 18.

In his annual report General Wood stated that the prosecution of guilty officials had been vigorously pressed. The former President and three other officials of the bank were serving sentences, and efforts were being made to recover lost funds from the directors who were responsible for improper loans.

The number of students in the universities and professional schools in Manila steadily increased during the year. In the primary and intermediate schools 97 per cent. of the youth of the Philippines receive their education. Thirty-six per cent. of the school population is enrolled in the public schools.

The death rate in the Philippines is 320 out of every thousand babies under 1 year old, compared with 76 in the United States and 170 in Japan.

POLAND

Vice Minister of Finance Markowski declared in an interview, Aug. 13, that the work of rehabilitating Polish finance was well toward completion, the Treasury having received abundant revenues in the form of new taxes, especially those

on capital and income. The revenue for the current year from the capital tax was estimated at 1,500,000,000,000 paper marks, one-fourth of the total note circulation. This was cited as attesting the determination of the country to regulate its financial situation. On Aug. 12 the Senate passed the law imposing a tax on capital to the amount of 1,000,000,000 gold francs.

The Cabinet, the night of Aug. 16, approved a project for a \$100,000,000 loan from the Morgan-Harjes Bank of Paris, and authorized M. Juritsch, Minister of Finance, to carry on the negotiations. The same night, the Premier signed an order speeding up the draft of the charter for the bank of emission to issue banknotes guaranteed by the Morgan loan. In the vaults of the Bank of Poland were banknotes in the new "zloty Polski" currency (the zlot equals one gold franc) printed in France two years ago. These were to be put into circulation as soon as Poland got the loan from the Morgans to guarantee the issue.

The public health work of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Poland, consisting of the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, public health stations, nurses' training schools, sanatoria for various diseases, sanitary wells and public bathhouses, was on Aug. 28 turned over to the Society for Public Health in Poland, an organization formed by the American committee for the purpose of continuing its work. This society is made up of the most prominent medical men in Poland and of the most active public workers in every community, and was recently legalized by the Polish Government.

A note from the Polish Government to the Soviet Russian Government, received in Moscow Sept. 2, stated that Poland was ready to recognize the newly formed Soviet Federation, provided that all the republics of the union would observe the conditions guaranteed by the Riga Treaty. This note demanded permission to organize Polish missions at Kharkov, Minsk and Tulyis, with full diplomatic powers, extraterritorial rights and the option of repatriating Polish subjects in the various Soviet republics by next April on identification papers issued by the Polish missions only. Other demands were return of Catholic Church property in Tiflis which was expropriated by the Soviet Government in 1921, and the payment of 4,500,000 poods of oil as compensation for the requisitioning by the Soviet of the Polish-owned oil wells at Baku. [A pood is about thirty-six pounds.]

Serious misunderstandings were reported Sept. 9 between the Polish and Russian delegations of the Commission for Re-evacuation, sitting at Moscow. In keeping with the stipulations of the Treaty of Riga, this commission was entrusted with drawing up the lists of factories, machines, stocks of goods, and so forth, evacuated during the war from Poland to Russia, and which they

demand should be returned to Poland. The Soviet delegation refused to comply with the Polish demands, asserting that most of the evacuated articles had perished. Another commission, dealing with the re-evacuation of paintings and other museum pieces, reached a deadlock.

The opening of the Warsaw and London Bank in Warsaw before the end of September was announced Sept. 12, with a paid-up capital of £250,000, representing 250,000,000,000 Polish marks, entirely subscribed in England. The Government promised to issue a charter to the bank seven days after the actual transference of the capital from England. The directors were Lieut. Gen. Sir Hubert de la Poer Gough, Hugh Lawrence, Fletcher Moulton and J. Henry Thomas for England; Henry Karkinski, Poland's largest pulp manufacturer, and Emil Swida, director of the Warsaw gas plant.

PORTO RICO

The Porto Rican Legislature has passed a bill favoring the election of a Governor by the people. A commission was named to visit the United States in December and place the Legislature's request before the Senate and House Committees on Insular Affairs. There was little expectation in Washington that Congress would act favorably on the proposal.

PORTUGAL

Teixeira Gomez, former Portuguese Minister to Great Britain, who was elected President of Portugal on Aug. 6, is well known as a political economist of the conservative Ricardo School, viz., as a protectionist and a gold-standard man. He has presented measures to relieve the economic condition of the Government, which since the war has increased expenditures until they are nearly triple the revenue, while the imports are more than double the exports. The new President will not be inaugurated until Oct. 5. His policy will be one of unification. He will attempt to bring conflicting parties together on the common basis of the welfare of the republic.

Though Portugal has passed through several difficult years, the Premiership of Senhor Maria da Silva, which has lasted eighteen months, justifies optimism. A revival of national consciousness is bearing fruit. The da Silva Cabinet, which is backed by the Democratic Party, followed a long series of Liberal and Coalition Governments, and the Premier's program is now made up with moderation and conciliation. The new Cabinet comprises the following Ministers:

Senhor JOAQUIM RIBEIRO—Agriculture.
Senhor VELHINHO CORREIA—Finance.
Senhor FONTOURA DA COSTA—Marine.

Premier da Silva retains the portfolios of War and the Interior.

The new Cortes is composed as follows:

	Senate.	Chamber of Deputies.
Democrats	42	83
Nationalists	14	46
Independents	8	24
Monarchists	4	6
Catholics	1	3
Radicals	1	..
Total	70	162

Fears of another Radical revolution arose late in August. The Radicals were vexed that persons implicated in the murders of October, 1921, should have been convicted and deported. They also resent the Republic's tolerant attitude toward the Church. They wish to go back to the Anti-Clericalism of 1911 and to keep up a menace of revolution.

The efforts of the General Federation of Labor to start a general strike on Aug. 26 failed, the railway men and other workers refusing to walk out. Owing to a rise in the price of bread, however, the builders, metal workers, printers, and river workers responded. Strikers attacked tram-cars in Lisbon with bombs and stones, but did little damage. Soldiers and police patrolled the streets. The provinces remained quiet and the Government has the situation well in hand.

The Bank of Portugal, on Sept. 12, raised its discount rate to 9 per cent. Commercial and industrial interests are pressing the Government to take strong measures to improve financial conditions. The bank's latest report showed increase in note circulation during last year of 397,000,000 escudos (\$198,500,000).

RUMANIA

Queen Marie of Rumania has been making a tour of Europe to strengthen with the different chancelleries the position of Greece, of which country her daughter Elizabeth is Queen. She had an interview with Premier Poincaré in Paris in August, as a result of which it was announced that the French Minister at Athens would soon be fully accredited to the Government of King George II. She then went on to London to try to obtain British recognition of the Greek court.

Since the shooting of French sailors in the streets of Athens during the war, the French representatives in Greece have been directed to confine their official relations to the Athens Government, and to hold aloof from the reigning house. This attitude was followed by most of the other Entente nations and by the United States, making the position of King George and Queen Elizabeth very difficult.

RUSSIA

That the Soviet Government is determined to retain the foreign trade monopoly, on which prospects of foreign business in Russia depend, was affirmed on the highest authority through August and early September. No serious group has advocated its abolition. The Soviet Government makes the utmost efforts to improve the monopoly mechanism both at home and abroad, linking it up with other governmental export and import agencies like the *Centrosyouz*—the Union of Co-operatives—and establishing joint agencies with the support of the State Bank, for instance, the new "bread product" organization for marketing the grain surplus abroad. Imperiled by the difficulties inherent in Government enterprises of a commercial nature, especially for so vast a domain, a compromise management has been undertaken by admitting "mixed companies," based on participation of foreigners or natives with the Monopoly Bureau.

In the conflicting reports as to the evolution of Russian business conditions, a note of hope was sounded early in September by a party of British business investigators representing the *Becos Traders, Ltd.*, of London. Members of this mission, after its return to England, stated that conditions in Russia were improving, and in commending the Soviet's financial and currency policy they expressed a wish that Germany would handle her problem as well. It was announced Aug. 20 that the Soviet Government was beginning to shift a large part of the burden of financing industry to the banks that had been organized since the revolution, and was bringing into being a banking system not unlike those of other nations. State appropriations still finance the heavier industries, such as steel, iron, coal and oil production, but the newly organized banks are declared to be financing the "lighter" industries, "such as textiles and industries dealing with necessities."

George Lomonossov, the Minister of Railroads, stated in Carlsbad, in an interview, Aug. 26, that the Moscow Government was making very serious efforts to restore its transport system, and had bought 1,500 American locomotives, paying for the same in gold which had been sent from Sweden to Spain, there melted down, and thence shipped to the United States through Cuba. The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, underwritten by the Soviet of Moscow to operate clothing factories in Russia, and organized by Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, announced in New York through Mr. Hillman, Sept. 2, that it would pay its first dividend of 8 per cent. Sept. 15, to apply on about \$300,000 subscribed by Americans to the \$1,000,000 stock capitalization. That exports from the port of Petrograd were daily increasing

and exceeded imports was announced by the Soviet authorities, Aug. 26.

The Council of Commissars decreed, Sept. 7, that the 1922 issue of Soviet rubles shall be invalid in Russia after Nov. 1, and in other countries after Dec. 1. This decree followed the recent issuance of State bank notes, known as *tchervontsi*, which are replacing the paper rubles in all branches of industry and commerce. The Council of Commissars on Aug. 30 had ordered the remission of a number of taxes on all grain destined for export, as a counter-measure to offset the continued fall of grain prices in the world markets. This tendency and the talk of big Russian crops were having a bearish effect on wheat, threatening to make grain exports unprofitable, and affecting the peasantry by lowering the grain prices in the home market.

That the Russian harvest is better than in 1922 by 7,000,000 tons was the official estimate, Sept. 9, for potatoes and all cereals. The latest official figures estimated the total at 2,900,000,000 poods (a pood is about thirty-six pounds) as against 2,390,000,000 estimated for 1922. The prospects of big grain exports, however, are declared by experts to be less rosy than they appear. Excessive rains have made poor crops in the northern and central provinces, and this means an undue strain on transport to supply these provinces with food from the South. Serge Stern, General Secretary of the Russian Committee in France for the Aid of Famine Sufferers in Russia, declared Sept. 9 that exportation of grain, when already shortage is felt keenly in Northwestern Russia, the Ukraine, the Crimea, and Turkestan, is criminal; that, though the horrible famine of last year will not be repeated, greater territories will be affected and more people suffer than last year. Other experts agree that the last-named four regions face famine. The American Jewish Relief Committee of New York reported, Sept. 3, that 1,165,290 children were astray in the Ukraine, homeless and verging upon savagery.

The Straits agreement concluded at the Lausanne conference, July 24, was signed for Russia, Aug. 14, by M. Jordanski, chief of the Russian delegation at Rome, by virtue of plenipotentiary powers specially conferred upon him, according to l'Agence Stephani, at the latter date.

After an investigation conducted by the British Foreign Office, the British Government decided, Aug. 31, to inform the Soviet Government that M. Christian Rakovsky would be acceptable as Russian Trade Agent in London.

According to Riga advices, Sept. 13, the Soviet Government had just announced that Foreign Commissar Tchitcherin had addressed a note to the Bulgarian Government demanding expulsion "of the White Guard staff" from Bulgaria, the closing of military schools, and the prohibition

of the formation of military organizations intended for use against Soviet Russia.

The Executive Committee of the Union of Soviets issued a decree, Aug. 13, stabilizing the territorial army to supplement the regular army, all citizens being subject to four years' training, not continuously, but in their spare time. The army is well officered, with only 10 per cent. illiteracy. Recruits are taught not only reading, writing and arithmetic, but also Communism.

In order to combat effectively the growing popularity and the activities of the Most Rev. Dr. Tikhon, the former Patriarch of All the Russias, the Supreme Church Council decided, Aug. 13, to re-establish the Holy Synod and amalgamate all Reformist Church groups under the title, "Russian Orthodox Church." A number of Bishops of the old Church had been appointed to membership in the synod.

SOUTH AFRICA

An epoch in the history of Southern Rhodesia closed on July 28 when the last session of the Legislative Council practically terminated the thirty-five years of chartered company rule.

The European Advisory Council of the Bechuanaland Protectorate at Johannesburg on Aug. 12 unanimously resolved to ascertain the conditions on which the Protectorate would be admitted to the Union of South Africa.

Twenty-eight men, who were serving sentences of five years and under for complicity in the disturbances on the Rand last year, were released at Johannesburg, thus leaving only nine of the rioters in prison.

Colonists in tropical Africa are reported as losing their fear of the tsetse fly, which transmits the germ of sleeping sickness, owing to the discovery that the fly is unable to stand the pungent odor of a plant, the *Melinitis minutiflora*, already used by the natives to protect their poultry and domestic animals. In small quantities the odor of the plant is said to be pleasing.

SPAIN

A "bloodless" revolution planned and executed by army officers and Spanish Fascista leaders has swept Spain, and King Alfonso has accepted and sanctioned the formation of a new Government under the leadership of the insurgent leaders.

The immediate cause of the army revolt, which began in Barcelona, capital of the Province of Catalonia, was discontent over the incompetent management of affairs in Morocco. This dissatisfaction has not been confined to the Spanish Army, but has rankled widely through the whole body politic. At the same time Spain has been torn by radical conspiracies most

strongly manifested in the recently suppressed labor uprisings and assassinations in Barcelona, which were succeeded Sept. 12 by a Separatist movement in Catalonia suddenly manifested by riots in Barcelona, accompanied by demands that the King immediately proclaim the independence of Catalonia.

The army determined to stamp out radical pacifism and revolutionism, and at the same time to attempt to retrieve Spanish losses in Morocco. An organization formed by leading officers of important garrisons sent an ultimatum on Sept. 12 to the Cabinet, demanding the immediate initiation of a big offensive in Morocco and threatening a coup d'état in case of noncompliance.

The army organization made good its threat, under the leadership of Ferdinando Primo Rivera, Captain General of Barcelona. He took possession of Barcelona Sept. 13, and the revolt spread rapidly through various districts and provinces. The public remained calm, apparently taking little interest in the impending change. The Alhucemas Cabinet, after protracted meetings, sent a request to General Primo Rivera to abandon his revolt for patriotic reasons, but he absolutely refused to do so. Thereupon, the Foreign Minister, Santiago Alba, who was particularly obnoxious to the revolutionary element, and the Minister of Labor, Felix Arminan, resigned their portfolios. The Madrid troops supported the revolt, pending the arrival of the King from his sojourn with the Queen at their home in Catalonia. The revolt was not against the throne, but was distinctly an anti-Cabinet movement. Captain General Primo Rivera made it understood in his manifesto that his object was to relieve the country of what he called the "immoral" policies of the Ministry (meaning policies contrary to the morale of the army and the country), and declared that the troops in Madrid and throughout Spain hoped that the King would decide to remove the Ministry as prejudicial to the nation. In a long telephone conversation with the Minister of War, General Primo Rivera paid tribute to Premier Alhucemas and to the Minister of the Interior, the Duke of Almodovar, and declared that his rebellion was aimed at several other members of the Cabinet.

When King Alfonso returned to Madrid, Sept. 14, Premier Alhucemas besought him to provide methods for the punishment of the revolting army men, but the King declined to do so. Thereupon, Premier Alhucemas handed in his own resignation and that of his Ministers, which the King accepted. The King then invited General Primo Rivera to take charge of the Government. General Rivera set out for Madrid to take charge of the military directorate there, composed of Generals Cavalcante, Saro, Daban, and Frederico Berenguer, and presided over by General Muñoz Cobo, the Captain General of Madrid.

Although martial law was proclaimed throughout the realm, no disturbances were reported.

The crisis in Morocco culminated Aug. 20 in the defeat of Spanish troops at Tifarauin by Abdul Krim's tribal forces, which then beleaguered the Spanish garrison there. About 250 Spaniards were killed, the Spanish casualties totaling nearly 800. The Moors were said to have lost about 500 killed. Tifarauin was relieved by Spanish forces from Melilla, Aug. 23, but the fact that 56,000 Spanish troops in the eastern zone of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco were successfully defied by less than 11,000 Moors gave rise to the question in political circles: "Why are the Spaniards unable to make headway against opponents so weak in numbers?" Captain General Weyler, best known as the "tyrant" of Cuba before the Spanish-American war, was appointed in the middle of August to investigate, as Chief of Staff, the military situation in Morocco and report to the Alhucemas Cabinet. He was greatly perturbed by the Tifarauin check, especially after Abdul Krim, on Aug. 25, summoned 100,000 of his followers to arms and threatened confiscation of the lands and goods of all who disobeyed the call. The Alhucemas Cabinet was hopelessly divided when the Primo Rivera coup was organized.

SWEDEN

The economic life of Sweden has suffered great depression from the widespread labor troubles of the country during the first five months of 1923. The ironworks, sawmills and pulp factories were practically at a standstill through February, March and April. From the labor conflict in Sweden's iron and steel works the steel industry of the United States has indirectly profited, a considerable number of the best Swedish skilled steel workers having emigrated to America. The recent settlement, however, in the Swedish ironworks' dispute has brought labor conditions rapidly back toward the normal, the unemployed being reduced in the last six months from 43.9 per cent. to 10.6 per cent.

TRANSJORDANIA

A threatened revolt of Arabs in Transjordan was reported from Jerusalem on Sept. 5. This was regarded as in support of an ultimatum delivered to the ruler, the Emir Abdullah, by the Sheik es Salt, at the head of 3,000 dissatisfied Arabs, who demanded the institution of a Parliamentary Government, expulsion of all foreigners, and revision of the tax system.

TURKESTAN

The Deputy President of the Central Executive Committee, who arrived in Moscow on Aug. 13,

informed the Soviet Government that 387,000 of the population of Ferghana were doomed this year to starvation, and that malaria was increasing so rapidly in Daghestan that whole villages had been wiped out. Last year's 170,000 head of cattle in Ferghana had already dwindled to 37,000. Before the war the province had 170,000 horses, but now only 27,000.

On Sept. 6 the Radium Institute in Petrograd announced that the expedition it had sent into Ferghana had discovered what was probably the world's largest deposit of radium.

TURKEY

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was elected President of the new National Assembly at Angora on Aug. 13 by a vote of 196 of the 197 deputies present. Ali Fuad Bey, First Vice President of the last Assembly, was re-elected. The new Cabinet showed changes only in the Premiership and the Ministry of Justice. It was constituted as follows:

FETHI BEY—Premier and Minister of the Interior.

HOJA MUSSA KIAZIM EFFENDI—Religious Affairs.

SEYID BEY—Justice.

GENERAL KIAZIM PASHA—National Defense.

GENERAL ISMET PASHA—Foreign Affairs.

SEFA BEY—Education.

HASSAN FEHMI BEY—Finance.

MAHMUD ESSAD BEY—National Economy.

FEVZI BEY—Public Works.

DR. RIZA NUR BEY—Health.

MARSHAL FEVZI PASHA—Chief of the General Staff.

The composition of the Cabinet was regarded as giving the country a group of experienced administrators.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha made a long speech analyzing the triumphs gained by Turkey from the peace treaty signed at Lausanne on July 24, reviewing the Turkish situation generally, recalling recent successes and warning of future dangers. "Our successes open the way to progress and civilization," he said, "but have not conducted us there already; we must go ahead courageously, taking care to render a return to our past misfortunes impossible. In my opinion the most important matter is to assure our national security and the independence of our Government. Those who menace our internal unity and security must find themselves confronted with the whole force of the nation. As for the independence of our Government, that is sacred, and the army is its best protection. Therefore one of the most important principles for the future is efficient organization of the army. It would be childish to suppose that the peace we have won will last forever. Meanwhile we shall certainly aim at entertaining good relations with

foreign countries on the principles of mutual respect and friendship."

The new Premier announced that the Government was to be one of action, and among its first problems were economic and financial questions and restoration of security throughout the country. "The eyes of the world are on Turkey," he said, "and the Turks must immediately begin to put into effect the most urgent reforms up to the limits of their financial capacity." The new Vice President said that Angora would remain the capital, and that there was no question of removing the seat of Government to Constantinople.

The Assembly ratified the Lausanne Peace Treaty on Aug. 23 with 215 affirmative votes out of 235. Criticism assumed a more moderate tone in the concluding stages of the debate. Ismet Pasha, defending the treaty, said:

"The foreign policy of the former Ottoman Empire consisted of self-abandonment to an unlimited confidence in some one power, whether an ally or only a friend, but the policy adopted by the Government of the National Assembly is absolutely different. Our invariable principle is to take up in regard to any power with which we enter into contact a clearly independent position."

Allied evacuation of Constantinople was officially started at midnight on the date of ratification of the treaty. Three transports of British troops left the next night. The Turkish Government decided to issue a series of stamps commemorating peace. The London Times in an editorial on Aug. 27 said: "The evacuation of Constantinople is the outward and visible sign that a new chapter has opened in the history of Turkey, and, maybe, in the history of all the East."

The Minister of National Economy received late in August an offer from a Turkish limited company for the development of national resources which it was proposed should be substituted for the so-called Chester-Kennedy agreement. The Turkish company was understood to be working with French development interests. The new plan, according to the Turkish Official Press Bureau, was much more favorable to Turkey than the Chester convention which was ratified by the National Assembly April 10 and signed at Angora April 30.

Rear Admiral Chester and his associates were to receive \$300,000 and 10 per cent. of the net profits of the Ottoman Development Company for the work they had done in Turkey and the concessions they had aided in obtaining, according to an award decided upon, Aug. 23, at the

final meeting of the arbitrators appointed under the New York arbitration law to settle the Chester-Kennedy dispute. The Chester interests were to withdraw from all management of the company and turn over to the Kennedy interests all the books and papers of the Ottoman-American Exploration Company. Colonel K. E. Clayton-Kennedy, Canadian engineer, head of the Kennedy group, issued a statement on Aug. 9 that more than 90 per cent. of the stock of the company was in American hands. "If the project of building railroads and ports, developing mines, oil fields and so forth in Turkey does not succeed," said the statement, "it will be entirely an American failure and the fault will be American—not Canadian or Turkish."

Lawless bands, principally Kurds, continued their activities on the Northern Syrian border. They were well organized and able to attack and drive in gendarmerie posts and to raid Bedouins and carry off cattle and camels. The new Government announced that the suppression of brigandage would be one of its first objects.

All Greeks and Armenians remaining in the interior of Anatolia were being rounded up late in August for deportation, according to Greek Government reports. The Armenians, it was said, were being sent into Russia; it was expected that the Greeks would be taken to Samsoun and thence to Aleppo. Twenty thousand Armenians were said to have reached the Anatolian border near Erivan by Aug. 20.

Hoja Mussa Kiazim, Minister of Religious Affairs, resigned at the end of August on the ground of ill health. It was thought, however, the reason was a difference of opinion over the dry régime, which he wanted to have maintained, whereas the Government was unwilling to sacrifice the revenue derived from sales of alcohol. Vine-growers presented a petition to the Government declaring they would be ruined by prohibition.

VENEZUELA

All political prisoners of Colombian nationality have been freed, according to an official communication of the Colombian Minister in Caracas, Dr. Guzman, to his Government. They have been put at the disposal of the Minister for their repatriation.

The Venezuelan Consul in San Juan, Porto Rico, left the island and returned to his country, giving as his reason the open hostility of the social atmosphere in which he lived, due to the great number of Venezuelan political refugees operating there.

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CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLES

Continued from Front Advertising Section.

stroying the real evil, a task certainly not beyond the strength of the Anti-Saloon League, had it really and honestly attempted it, we broke down and trampled upon one of the great principles which underlie the whole fabric of constitutional government. We have made a precedent "and many an error, by the same example will rush into the State." And we still have the saloon about as active as ever, because the laws we passed to destroy it makes it more profitable than ever.

So while Mr. Wheeler and the Anti-Saloon League bemoan the failure of prohibition enforcement, and are branding opponents of the Volstead act as disloyal, some of us rejoice at the resistance that measure has provoked. We see in that resistance some proof that the old spirit of liberty, which animated our forefathers, is not dead. It only slept; and the excesses of the Anti-Saloon League may yet revive it in all its pristine strength.

* * *

A letter has come to the Editor from a well-known American educator in Peru, first remarking on the excellence of CURRENT HISTORY as an international journal, and then seriously protesting against statements in recent contributions assailing the Government of Peru as despotic and tyrannical. The letter continues:

I feel that President Leguia deserves the admiration of progressive men for his policy of internal development and his scrupulous regard for all commitments. I do not live in Lima, nor do I bask in the light of official favor, but I live far out in the provinces where my vision is clear. I know the conditions in Peru somewhat intimately and I feel that, all unwittingly, an excellent man, an energetic worker for his country's development, has been maligned. I know that the American Society hopes that CURRENT HISTORY may not accept such attacks.

* * *

Senor P. R. Rincones, Consul General of Venezuela in New York, writes to the Editor stating that he wishes to correct the impression created by the recent publication of an article in CURRENT HISTORY from the pen of an avowed foe of the Gomez Government in Venezuela:

Such an article reflects only the ideas and wrath of the sworn enemies of the present Venezuelan Administration. This publication and others of the same ilk which have been appearing recently are nothing more or less than Bolshevik propaganda. General Gomez has established peace in Venezuela, and to maintain that peace is forced to suppress that element opposed to domestic tranquillity and the general public welfare, common to all countries.

Under the Gomez Administration peace has been assured, Venezuela's credit is of the best; the national debt has been reduced over 60 per cent., as can be ascertained by the Report of Aug. 6 of this year, published by the United States Commerce Department at Washington. The most friendly of international relations exist, and what acts as a great incentive to the revolutionists, the self-styled Redeemers of Venezuela, is the reserve in gold in the Treasury of about \$10,000,000. The present prosperity of Venezuela, its excellent water and sewerage systems, costing over \$5,000,000, the new and improved highways and the most perfect and modern methods of sanitation all prove better than words the efficiency, patriotism and honorable purpose of the present Administration. Prompted by the prosperous conditions existing, American and other foreign concerns have invested capital in the various banking, mining, commercial and other industries there.

Concerning the article by William Dudley Foulke in the August CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE on the Decline of Modern Civilization, letters and editorials continue. Most of the writers are in earnest agreement with Mr. Foulke's comparison of the Rome that was ready for invasion and the United States of today. Others are deeply interested in the article as a fine historical study and a courageous monition. As one prominent newspaper remarked, "it is well to be reminded of our faults by such a logician as Mr. Foulke; we are not likely to forget our virtues." A few take issue with him in various moods, maintaining that there is another side to the story, and heaping up evidence to show that the human race has far more to its credit than ever before.

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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Issued During the Month Ended Aug. 31, 1923.

BUILDING THE AMERICAN NATION, by Nicholas Murray Butler; 374 pages; published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; price \$2.50. An interpretation of the origin and development of the American Nation through the chief figures in our history, viz.: Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln.

TURKEY, THE GREAT POWERS, AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY, by Edward M. Earle; 364 pages; published by the Macmillan Company, New York; price \$2.25. An analysis of modern economic imperialism. The story reveals the substantial and swiftly increasing economic interests of America in the Near East, added to the American religious, educational and humanitarian interests there.

THE MEXICAN NATION, by Herbert Ingram Pristley; published by the Macmillan Company, New York; price \$4. A narrative of the colorful story of Mexico from the early Spanish explorations to the present day.

THE MALADY OF EUROPE, by M. E. Ravage; 250 pages; published by the Macmillan Company, New York; price \$2. This is an analysis of the results of the World War and of events in Europe since the war, with a startling chapter on a suggested American policy to bring order out of the European chaos.

JEFFERSON DAVIS, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH, by H. J. Eckenrode; 351 pages; published by the Macmillan Company, New York; price \$2.50. A story of the life of Jefferson Davis, an estimate of his character and his place in history, and a study of the political and military history of the Confederacy.

LABOR SUPPLY AND REGULATION, by Humbert Wolfe; 422 pages; published by the Oxford University Press, New York, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; price \$3. A discussion of man-power, from the point of view that there is no single factor in a modern war which contributes so much to defeat or victory as the failure or success in handling this problem of man-power.

OUTLINES OF HISTORICAL JURISPRUDENCE, by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Vol. II., The Jurisprudence of the Greek City; 316 pages; published by the Oxford University Press, New York; price \$7.

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